

# THE AŚOKĀVADĀNA

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ASOKĀVADĀNA

SANSKRIT TEXT  
COMPARED WITH CHINESE VERSIONS

EDITED ANNOTATED AND PARTLY TRANSLATED

BY

SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA

*Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati*



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॥ तत्रभवते ॥

रवीन्द्रनाथाय

न दृश्यते रूपमतो न विद्यते नाशं गतोऽसाविति किं विकल्पसे ।  
न पश्यसि प्राणमपीह चक्षुषा सत्ता कथं तस्य तथापि ते मता ॥  
कथं नरः प्राणिति केन चानिति पोषैस्तनोरेव स किं नु जीवति ।  
पुष्टेऽपि देहे मनसो रसं विना कथं नु जीवेन्मतिमान् स मानवः ॥  
काव्यस्य नाट्यस्य रसैश्च गीतकैर्जीवान्निहोज्जीवयितुं य ईहते ।  
आ जन्मनो यस्य यतावदमागतं तस्मै मया हृत्शतपत्रमर्पितम् ॥

## FOREWORD

The original Sanskrit text of the *Aśokāvadāna* was edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil and published for the first time in 1886 (*cf.* The *Dīvyāvadāna*). Unfortunately it was full of corrupt readings.

Nearly for a century there was practically no attempt by any scholar, either from the East or from the West, to revise and re-edit this important ancient text.

The text of the *Aśokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese by different translators in different times. The oldest translation was made by Parthian Fa-ch'in *circa* 300 A.D. (*cf.* *A-yü-wang-chuan*, Nanjio No. 1459). The work became rapidly popular in China. Even as late as 512 A.D., it was re-translated by Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman (*cf.* *A-yü-wang-ching*, Nanjio, No. 1343).

That the Sanskrit text is very old may be evidenced from the earliest Chinese translation of the work. It must have been written in the second century A.D.

I am glad to note that Prof. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya who has already edited several old Sanskrit texts, comparing them with their Chinese and Tibetan translations has edited the Sanskrit text of the *Aśokāvadāna* critically comparing it with its oldest Chinese version.

- (iii) Textual criticism.
- (iv) A discussion on the life of Aśoka, historic and legendary.
- (v) A discussion on the Sanskrit MSS.
- (vi) A discussion on the Chinese Translations.
- (vii) A discussion on the date and author.
- (viii) A discussion on the meaning and significance of the word *avadāna*.
- (ix) A discussion on the striking resemblance between the composition of three stories of the *Sūtrāṅkāra* (the original of which is lost ; the Chinese translation and a French translation from the Chinese are available) and those of the *Aśokāvadāna*.

The Appendixes contain:

- (i) Life of Aśoka based on epigraphic records.
- (ii) A chronological scheme of Aśoka's reign.
- (iii) A chronology from the legends.
- (iv) A few important Aśoka Inscriptions.
- (v) Explanation of difficult technical terms, and peculiar words, references etc.

From the above list of topics it will be clear that this scholarly edition will create interest even among the lay public. For scholars, it is important as one of the oldest, post-Vedic prose compositions, and as a collection of old legends some of which are enriched with noble ideas, high ideals and beautiful composition.

Santiniketan  
May 8, 1962

TAN YUN-SHAN  
Principal  
Chetna-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD .. .. .	vii
LIST OF TOPICS .. .. .	xi
ABBREVIATIONS .. .. .	xiv
DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS .. .. .	xv
INTRODUCTION .. .. .	xvii
BENEDICTION .. .. .	lxxv
TEXT AND CHINESE VERSIONS:	
Pāṃśupradānāvadāna .. .. .	1
Vitaśokāvadāna .. .. .	56
Kunālāvadāna .. .. .	71
Aśokāvadāna .. .. .	126
APPENDICES:	
(a) Life of Aśoka based on Epigraphic records .. .. .	139
(b) Select Aśoka Inscriptions .. .. .	147
(c) Notes .. .. .	159
(d) Select Bibliography .. .. .	179
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA .. .. .	183



## LIST OF TOPICS

### THE PĀMĪSUPRADĀNĀVADĀNA

Buddha's visit to Mathurā—His prophecy about a new Buddha—Story of Śāṅgavāsīn, the Preceptor of new Buddha Upagupta—Story of Vāsavadattā, the courtesan of Mathurā—Her amorous message to Upa°—Upa°'s promise to meet her in time—A rich client murdered by Vāsava°—Vāsava° disfigured and thrown out of the town—Meeting of the Saint and the courtesan—Her conversion, death and rebirth in heaven—Upa°'s spiritual discourses interrupted by Māra—Chastisement of Māra, with a chain of skeletons around his neck—Māra's appeal to gods to remove it—Gods' inability—Brahmā's advice to resort to Upa°—Māra relieved of his bonds—His reverence for the merciful Buddha who forgave him—His constant persecutor—Māra's repentance—His conversion—His miraculous performance: appearance of the graceful figure of Buddha—Māra as a preacher of the Good Law—Upa°'s great success as a Preacher—Attainment of Arhathood of his numerous disciples—Reference to an extraordinary gift: a handful of Dust presented to Buddha by a boy in Rājagṛha, Buddha's prophecy about the boy to be born as king Aśoka—Aśoka's ancestors—Bindusāra, his father—Aśoka and Vītaśoka born of the chief queen—Princes examined by Piṅgalavatsūjīva—His prediction: that Aśoka would be the King—March of prince Aśoka to Takṣaśilā—Surrender of Rebels—Death of Bindusāra—Contest for the Crown—Death of crown-prince Susīma—Aśoka as an impetuous king—Story of Caṇḍa(impetuous)-Aśoka and Caṇḍa-Girika—Torture-house (or hell) of Caṇḍa-Gi°—Story of Saint Samudra—His influence on Aśoka—Aśoka's conversion—Destruction of Caṇḍa-Gi° and his hell—Collection of Buddha's Relics and construction of Monuments throughout Jambudvīpa—Caṇḍāśoka changed to Dharmāśoka. .. ..

animals—His order to his ministers to sell them—A human head allotted to Yasas—His inability to sell it—King's order to present it—Dearth of supplicants for such a repulsive thing—Yasas advised by the king to acquire merit with the repulsive thing (*i.e.* by bowing his head)—Minister taught to honour virtue and the virtuous born in any caste—Story of Upagupta—His arrival at Pataliputra—A grand royal reception—Union of the Saint and the king—Upa's instructions—His reference to Asoka's "Gift of Dust"—King's proposal for pilgrimage—Pilgrimage to Lumbini—Appearance of a god—His description of the baby Bodhisattva—King's donation of a hundred thousand ounces of gold—Construction of a monument there—Pilgrimage to Kapilavastu—References to: the first meeting of Śuddhodana with his son, father's salutation to the son, gods' salutation to the baby—References to: astrologers' prediction, Roi Asita, Mahāprajāpati, the foster-mother of the baby—Description of Bodhisattva's education—Physical culture of Bodhisattva—His enjoyment with sixty thousand wives—His experience of the first trance—Pilgrimage to: the place where Bodhi<sup>o</sup> became a monk, hermitages of Bhārgava, Ārāda and Udraka, the place of his rigorous austerities: where Bodhi<sup>o</sup> accepted honey and milk from Nandā and Mandahālā, where he took shelter under the Bodhi-tree, where Nāgarāja Kālīka praised him—Appearance of Kālīka—His description of Bodhi<sup>o</sup>—Reference to defeat of Māra and attainment of Bodhi—King's donation and construction of a monument there—References to: a miracle, offering of a meal by Trapusa and Bhalluka, eulogy on Buddha by the Ajivika Upagana—Pilgrimage to: Rājatanā where the "Wheel of Law" was set in motion, where a thousand hermits with matted hair were converted, where Bimbisāra was enlightened along with 84000 gods and thousands of Brāhmanas of Magadha, where a miracle was wrought, where He descended from heaven, after preaching the Law to His mother—Pilgrimage to Kuśīnagara where He passed away—Donation of a hundred thousand ounces of gold—Construction of monument—King's desire to worship relics of Buddha: foremost disciples—Pilgrimage to Jetavana—Homage to Sānpūtara's, Mahāmaudgalyāyana's, Mahākāśyapa's monuments—Grant of a hundred thousand ounces of gold for each—Homage to Bātkula's monument who strove only for his own salvation—A small sum offered but refused and returned by the spirit—Homage to Ānanda's monument, donation of a crore for it—King's return to the capital—Asoka's constant offering to the Bodhi-tree, the best jewels offered—Queen Tisarakantā's jealousy—Her attempt to destroy Bodhi(-tree) by charm—King's grief for the withering Bodhi(-tree)—Clarification of Tisya's misunderstanding who had taken Bodhi for a woman—Counter-action against charm—Showers of milk at the root—Revival of the Bodhi(-tree)—A Five-Year Festival in honour of Bhikṣus—Invitation to all Śrāvakas (disciples of Buddha residing in Kāśmīra, Mahāvāna, Kavatāka, Mānasarovāra, in the caves of mountains, on the banks of rivers)—Arrival of three hundred thousand monks—King's enquiry of the presidential seat remaining vacant—Surprising news of the survival of a direct disciple (*viz.* Pindola Bharadvāja) of Buddha—His arrival.

Reminiscences of Buddha narrated by Pindola<sup>o</sup>—His interview with Buddha, residing in Rājagṛha, after the enlightenment—Interview with Buddha at Śrāvastī where He wrought a miracle to defeat the heretics—Interview at Vāraṇasī where sun Upalavastu wrought a miracle—His journey with Bu<sup>o</sup> to Pundravardhana invited by Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapindada—Bu's command to him to live as long as the Good Law lasts—Reference to the "Gift of Dust" which Pindola<sup>o</sup> witnessed—References to: the residence of Pindola<sup>o</sup> in the Gandhamādana mountain, his sixty thousand Arhat disciples.

Announcement of the Five-Year Festival—Copious sprinkling of the Bodhi-tree with a thousand vessels of milk and various perfumes—King's offering of himself, his queens, ministers and son Kunāla to the services of the assembly of monks—Feast in honour of the guests—King as a server at the feast—Curious behaviour of two Śrāmaṇeras (novices) while eating—Display of supernatural power by them—Garments offered to the monks—Completion of the Five-Year Fest—Redemption of king's own self and others—Construction of 84000 monuments. . . . .

*Story of Kunāla*

Birth of Kunāla—His beautiful eyes resembling those of kunāla bird—A kunāla bird brought from the Himalayas for comparison—Prince in youth, married to Kāñcanamālā—Kunāla's interview with Elder Yaśas in the Kukkuṭārāma monastery—Latter's instruction on 'instability of eyes'—Tīṣya's meeting with Kunāla contemplating in seclusion—Her offer of sensual pleasures—Her vow of vengeance at his refusal.

Revolt of Takṣaṭilā—Kunāla's military expedition—Surrender of rebels—Kunāla's popularity among his subjects there—Aśoka's illness—Recovery under Tīṣya's treatment—Tīṣya crowned for a week—Her royal decree to destroy the eyes of Kunāla at Takṣaṭilā—Executioners' refusal to carry out decree—Crown offered by Kunāla for execution—An extraordinary cruel person willing to execute—Protest from the public—Kunāla contemplating on 'instability of eyes' before execution—Eyes destroyed one by one—Divine eyes attained by the prince—Kāñcanamālā plunged in grief—Kunāla's soothing words of consolation—His spontaneous blessings on Tīṣya—Kunāla's banishment from Takṣa—Journey to Pāṭaliputra—Maintenance by begging and singing—Arrival at Pāṭalī—Shelter in the coach-house of the palace at night—Kunāla's melodies resounding the palace at dawn—King's eagerness to see the singer—Prince unrecognized by king, at first sight—Shadow of grief over the royal family—King's vow to revenge—Kunāla's compassion and forgiveness for the evil-deed—Eyesight restored by virtue of Universal Love (*maitrī*). . . . .

## INTRODUCTION

M. C. NAWA

In 1886, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil published the *Avadāna* from Cambridge. It contained among others the old text of the *Aśokāvadāna*. This text, like others of its kind, is written in Sanskrit. It consists of four chapters or sections, each of which is also named *Avadāna* in the MSS., viz. (i) *Pāṃśuṣupradānāvadāna*, (ii) *Vitaśokāvadāna*, (iii) *Kunālāvadāna* and the (iv) *Aśokāvadāna*.

The first one contains several legends: one of Upagupta, the spiritual teacher of king Aśoka, one of Śāṅgavāsīn, the teacher of Upagupta, another of Vāsavadattā the courtesan, the first convert of Upagupta. Still another, and a very interesting one, is the story of the conversion of Māra by Upagupta. The last is the legend of Aśoka, the cruel one (*Caṇḍāśoka*) and his conversion.

The *Pāṃśuṣupradānāvadāna* or the 'Avadāna of the Gift of Dust' is named so because Aśoka, in his former existence, while he was a child once offered with great respect a handful of dust to Buddha innocently assuming it to be *saktu* (powdered barley). The great merit which the boy acquired by this 'gift of dust' made him in his subsequent existence the emperor of vast Jambudvīpa. Aśoka is described as a very cruel person in his youth who killed men and even women whenever he found fault with them. So for his dreadful deeds he was called the *Caṇḍāśoka*. He was gradually changed by the influence of the Buddhist Śramaṇas. One of them, named Samudra in his lay life (the name he bore in his monastic life is not given), was the first to influence the young emperor. Ultimately, because, of his manifold meritorious deeds, *Caṇḍāśoka* was given the epithet of *Dharmāśoka*.

The third, the *Kunālāvadāna* too consists of several legends. It begins with the interesting story of how Aśoka humbled his minister Yaśas. After this it relates the story of the great meeting of Upagupta and Aśoka. The teacher Upagupta led the disciple Aśoka to the sacred places where the prince Gautama was born and brought up, practised austerities and attained Enlightenment; where he turned the 'Wheel of the Law'; where he breathed his last; where the great disciples Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Ānanda and others left their last remains—the relics. Then the legend of the queen Tīṣyarakṣitā who in envy attempted to destroy the Bodhi-tree is told and the story of the meeting of Aśoka and Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, a direct disciple of Buddha. After this, it relates the story of Kunāla which is one of the most pathetic stories ever written. The queen Tīṣyarakṣitā, like queen Kaikeyī of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was granted a boon by the emperor. In virtue of this boon, Tīṣya<sup>c</sup> became the queen empress of vast Jambudvīpa for a week. As soon as she came to the throne, she commanded the eyes of the prince Kunāla (her step-son) to be plucked out. This order was duly sealed and despatched to Takṣaśilā (Taxila) where the prince was staying. The lovely eyes, blue like the rare blue lotus, were plucked out. King Aśoka did not know of it. Later, when he met his blind son he was furious and wished to punish the queen with death. But the compassionate prince repeatedly implored him to forgive her. She was however not forgiven.

The *Aśokāvadāna*, the fourth chapter, describes how the great emperor spent the last days of his life. He was practically interned in his bed-chamber. It is a great tragedy that the emperor of a continent, a man who once used to distribute gold coins worth millions in charity had not a penny at his own disposal. He who had always been served in gold plates had them taken away, lest he might send them as gifts to the monastery. He had to take his meals in the earthen pots.

This chapter, embellished with poems that are jewel-like may be considered one of the best compositions of ancient literature.

The *Aśokāvadāna* is a very important text for its antiquity as well as for its literary value. It was composed before the third century A.D. Some portions of the text are exquisite and they may be ranked as classics. A free rendering of some of the remarkable pieces is given below:

## THE SAINT AND THE COURTESAN

Not long before His passing away, while Lord Buddha was in Mathurā, He said to Ānanda, "Ānanda, a hundred years hence when I shall be no more in this world, there shall be a merchant named Gupta in this town of Mathurā. His son Upagupta shall spread the Good Law in this world like unto a second Buddha.

"Ānanda, do you see that dark blue line on the horizon there, far, far away ? It is the range of mountains called Urumuṇḍa. A monk named Śāṇakavāsin shall found a monastery there a hundred years from now. He shall ordain Upagupta."

The hundred years passed. Upagupta was born in Mathurā as the youngest child of an incense-merchant named Gupta. The child was remarkably handsome and extraordinary in his movements. He attracted the attention of Śāṇakavāsin, the High Priest. He came to see the boy frequently. Upagupta spent his childhood as well as his youth under the guidance of the High Priest who helped him to build up his character.

When Upagupta grew up, he followed the profession of his father. He was very honest and polite in dealing with his customers.

client, she had the young man killed out of greed for the gifts and hid the body in a dustbin. Then she received her new client and entertained him.

In the meantime the friends of the young merchant began a search for him and discovered his dead body in the dustbin. They brought the crime to the notice of the king. He commanded the courtesan to be disfigured and thrown out of the town.

Vāsavadattā, the most beautiful girl in the kingdom, every limb of whose body was full of charm, lay disfigured in the crematorium of the town. She who had before attracted all who caught a glimpse of her, now attracted only vultures and such-like. Of her innumerable attendants only one maid remained with her.

Upagupta heard this. He reflected: "Once she invited me to go to her. Now is the time for me to accept that invitation."

In sympathy and compassion, he proceeded to the outskirts of the town. The attendant of the courtesan saw him and said to her mistress, "Upagupta, the incense-merchant, whom you once invited to come to you is coming. Surely he wants enjoyment."

With a deep sigh Vāsavadattā replied:

"Stained with blood are my mangled limbs !  
My beautiful face is defaced;  
This mutilated body now frightens all  
Except vultures and cannibals."

In great anxiety she bade her maid, "Friend, bandage my limbs quickly !" The maid obeyed.

Upagupta approached and stood before Vāsavadattā. With tears in her eyes, the courtesan said:

"When this body of mine was like a lotus in full bloom  
Graced with a hundred tender petals,  
While its beauty enchanted even the gods,  
You did not come, my friend !

"These graceful limbs are now scarred  
And stained with blood,  
The lovely face defaced.  
How can a damaged body that attracts none,  
Attract you, my friend ?"

Upagupta replied :

“Refrain from such profane speech, my sister,  
 Speak of this no more !  
 I have no attraction for the flesh;  
 Lust have I none.  
 Alas ! Even the most lustful shall give up lust  
 When he sees the end which is its fate.

“On this dreadful day, think of Him,  
 The merciful Lord, whose mercy rains in showers on you  
 His forlorn child who is plunged in misery.  
 Who is there to take you across this ocean of affliction  
 Except Him who is the fountain-spring of compassion.  
 Take refuge in Him with all your heart,  
 The Lord of the lowliest and the lost.”

He sat beside her and nursed her with the utmost care until she died. Inspired by the holy company of the selfless saint Upagupta, Vāsavadattā overcame her lust and attained the ‘Divine Eye’ before her death.

After this incident Upagupta renounced the world. Śāṅkavāsin, the High Priest ordained him.



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Māra was astonished. He said, "When I saw with my own eyes that you bowed to me, how do you say that it was not me to whom you paid homage!"

The Venerable One replied:

"When a man bows to the clay-image of a god,  
He bows not to the image but to the god.  
Thus, when I bowed to thee  
Who transformed thyself into the image of the Lord  
I showed respect to the Lord and not to thee, indeed!"

Then Māra caused the image of Buddha to vanish, made an obeisance to Upagupta and disappeared.

And on the fourth day after, Māra announced by sound of bells: "You who pray for the supreme bliss, go to Upagupta and hear the Law from him:

"Do you want to shake off poverty,  
The source of all ills?  
Do you aspire celestial thrones  
Or the Bliss of Liberation?  
Approach Upagupta and listen to him.  
Do not regret that you could not see  
Buddha, the Great Compassionate One.  
He has come down to you  
In the form of Upagupta, the Divine Light  
That illuminates the three states of existence."<sup>1</sup>

This is a poetical composition pregnant with dramatic elements. The Buddhist ideal of not destroying evil but converting it to good is expressed here in a magnificent way. Māra, the god of temptation, is neither destroyed nor conquered by force, as a king conquers his enemy. He is converted to the Good Law. No more does he tempt people to the evil way. Instead he persuades them to the Noble Path.

The latter part of this episode is most interesting where Māra is asked by Upagupta to show him Buddha in His mortal body. Māra acts in such a way that Buddha with His retinue of 1250 Arahants comes down as if from heaven and stands before

<sup>1</sup> (i) Sensual existence, (ii) *deva*-corporeal existence, and (iii) formless existence.

the saint in broad daylight. The scene is so vivid that the saint Upagupta forgets that it is only make-believe and not real. He falls down at the feet of Māra, taking him to be Buddha.

This reminds us of a well-known incident which occurred in a theatre of Bengal. There a famous actor played the part of a rogue so vividly, that one of the elite audience, the celebrated Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgara hurled his slipper at the actor's head. The actor was thrilled with joy. He picked up the slipper and placed it respectfully on his head himself.

Here too, we see a great drama being acted by an expert actor. He plays his part so wonderfully that even the most elite audience, the saint Upagupta, takes it to be real.

The credit is due to Aśvaghōṣa, the celebrated author of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, from which this is reproduced. *Vide* É. Huber, *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 263-273.

“Alas ! It is difficult to obtain this blessed existence !  
It is difficult also to obtain the bliss of renunciation,  
In the Law of love and compassion of the Enlightened One.  
Fortunate I was to attain them  
And sad I am to part with them.”

The Śramaṇa prayed for a month's time, but Caṇḍa-Girika granted him only a week.

For seven days, day and night constantly reflecting on death, the Śramaṇa purified his mind and prepared it for Enlightenment.

When he was in this state of mind, there was an incident in the royal family. A prince fell in love with one of the queens. The emperor sent both of them to the prison-house of Caṇḍa-Girika. They were pounded to death with an iron rammer in an iron vessel.

Seeing these two beautiful persons, murdered in such a horrible way, the Śramaṇa cried in compassion :

called him, "Śramaṇa ! The night is gone ! The sun is rising !"  
The Śramaṇa said, "Yes, my friend, the night is gone !

"The dense darkness of delusion  
That covers the human soul has disappeared.  
The night has passed, the sun arisen !  
The pilgrim has reached his goal.

"The destitute has found an inexhaustible  
store of treasure !  
Today he can give whatever is asked of him.  
Do you wish to take this life ?  
Do accept it as a humble gift, my friend."

Caṇḍa-Girika caught hold of the saint and threw him into the large iron pan, filled with blood and bones and marrow and water. Lighting the fire in the oven under it he tried to heat it.

But when the water would not boil even though he piled faggots high, he was very much surprised. He looked inside the pan and found to his utter astonishment that the saint was seated cross-legged in the centre, absorbed in ecstasy. He reported this to the king. Overcome with a great curiosity, the king came to the prison-house.

When he saw the extraordinary scene, the king was spell-bound. With folded hands he prayed to the saint, "What service can I do, Your Holiness ?"

The saint replied, "King, the Lord said: 'When a hundred years will have passed after the passing away of the Blessed One, an emperor named Aśoka shall rule at Pāṭaliputra. He shall propagate the doctrine of love as taught by Buddha throughout the world !'

"O king, what the Blessed One said will come to pass. Give up these evil ways. Your mission is not to kill but to protect.

"Therefore, O king, give an assurance of safety to all sentient beings ! Let those two strong arms of yours shield the world!"

The emperor replied, "Let it be so."

The saint disappeared.

And when the king was about to come out of the prison-house, Caṇḍa-Girika stood in front of him and said with folded hands, "Sire, you promised me that I may slay whoever enters into this house."

Vitaśoka said:

“I saw no dances of damsels.

I heard not their music.

I did not even feel their tender limbs

Adorned with gold clinging to me !

Dance, music, riches, things of luxury,

The earth filled with gems, beauty and youth,

All were empty to me, they yielded me no pleasure.

“Reposing on the most comfortable couch of the world

I passed my nights without any sleep;

When I saw at every door, the executioners

With their dark blue garments on, like the jaws of death !”

The king said, “My dear brother, when the fear of death constantly possesses the mind of a man, no luxury in the world can attract him; this you have experienced well !

“Do you know, that the mind of a Śramaṇa is always possessed with the fear of death,—not only with the fear of death that is coming but with the thought of innumerable future deaths ? When such is the case, how can his mind be attracted to objects of luxury or sensual pleasure ?

“Amidst various pleasures, detached remains his mind,  
Like the drop of water on the leaf of a lotus !”

Vitaśoka was then attracted to the Good Law. He prayed:

“I take refuge in Him

Whose eyes are like the full-bloomed lotus !

I accept the Dharma and the Saṅgha

Preached and founded by Him !”

Hearing this, the king embraced his brother and said,

“I did not wish to kill you, my brother. It was done only to attract your mind to the Good Law !”

Vitaśoka devoted his heart and soul to the Good Law. Every day he worshipped the *cāitya* (monument of Buddha), served the Saṅgha, and listened to the Good Law.

One day, he went to the Kukkuṭārāma. There he found the High Priest Yaśas who had attained Arahantship. When he had examined Vitaśoka he came to know that Arahantship was awaiting the prince. He preached the merit of renunciation.

Henceforth, he lived mainly on milk and therefore dwelt in a village of milkmen. He begged his food. At that time, an incident occurred which greatly enraged the king. A follower of the Nirgrantha (Mahāvīra) painted a picture, showing Buddha prostrating Himself at the feet of the Nirgrantha. Aśoka ordered all the Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) to be killed. In one day, eighteen thousand Ājīvikas lost their lives<sup>1</sup>.

A similar kind of incident took place in the town of Pāṭaliputra. A man who painted such a picture was burnt alive with his family. It was announced that whoever would bring the king the head of a Nirgrantha would be rewarded with a *dināra* (a gold coin). As a result of this, thousands of Nirgranthas lost their lives.



The king distributed the heads among the ministers and commanded, "Sell them in the market."

All the ministers sold the heads allotted to them in the market except the minister Yaśas who had been given a human head.

With fear in his heart Yaśas approached the king and reported that he could not sell the human head.

The emperor said, "If people do not want to pay for it, give it as a gift."

Yaśas, the minister, sent the human head again to the market but there was none to take it even as a gift. He went to the king and said:

“Dost thou seek virtues of the holy men  
 Who are saviours of the world  
 Or dost seek their origin ?  
 Doomed thou art in thy delusion !  
 High caste is a dream !  
 Thou must not delude me.

“Castes may have a claim in marriage,  
 In religion to make a claim for it is absurd !  
 The Law stands on virtue.  
 Do virtues seek the origin of the man  
 Before they enter his heart ”

“My friend, it is not meet for a minister to hold the king  
 back from the Right Path.”

The minister Yaśas had a good lesson.

From then on, he bowed his head at the feet of all holy persons  
 irrespective of their castes.

This story is to be found in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 90-95.

### THE LEGEND OF KUNĀLA

On the day the construction of eighty-four thousand monuments over the relics of Buddha was completed by Aśoka, his queen Padmāvati gave birth to a son. The child was beautiful, its eyes being specially attractive. The king remarked:

“Indeed I am happy today !  
 My heart is full to the brim.  
 I have served the Law and gained a son !  
 May the Law be served by him.”

When the ministers heard this remark, they named the prince Dharma-vardhana or the ‘Promoter-of-the-Law’. The baby prince was brought to the king. He said:

“His eyes are like the blue lotus in full-bloom,  
 They adorn a face as lovely as the full-moon.”

“Have you ever seen such eyes anywhere ?” asked the king. The ministers replied, “Never have we seen such eyes among

the children of men, but there is a kind of bird called kunāla that lives in the Himalayas which has eyes like this."

"I want to see the bird," said the king. Immediately the bird was brought. After carefully comparing both, the king could not find any difference between the eyes of the baby prince and those of the bird; so he called his son Kunāla.

When the prince grew up, he was initiated into all the sixty-four arts. Soon he became proficient in many of them, especially in music. When he attained youth, he was married to a lovely princess named Kāñcanamālā.

One day Aśoka visited the monastery Kukkuṭārāma and took Kunāla with him. The High Priest there, known as Yaśas, had attained psychic powers. He came to know that those charming eyes of the prince were soon to be destroyed.

When the prince bowed at his feet, he recited:

"O prince, the source of all suffering are the eyes !

Watch them constantly with the utmost care.

Fickle by nature, friends they are not indeed.

But foes in friends' disguise.

Of this, the vulgar are not aware.

Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin's snare."

the king,' she reflected, 'I shall be put to death. I must see that he does not succeed to the throne.' She approached the king and said, "I shall cure Your Majesty of this disease. But the physicians must not be allowed to come to the palace." Then she called the physicians to her own chamber and said, "If a similar patient is found anywhere, let him be brought to me."

An Ābhīra suffering from the same disease was brought to the physicians. They sent him to the queen. The queen had him slain secretly and examined his stomach. A big worm was found in his intestines.

The queen put powdered chillies on it, but it was not destroyed. Similarly she used pepper and ginger with no effect. At last she poured on it the juice of onions, and the worm was killed.

She went to the king and said, "Your Majesty should eat onions." The king remarked, "I am a Kṣatriya, how can I eat onions?" The queen replied, "They may be taken as a medicine to save life."

Inconsistent by nature, friends they are not indeed,  
But foes in friends' disguise !

Of this, the vulgar are not aware.

Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin's snare !”

Absorbed in this thought the prince commanded:

“First, pluck out one eye and give it to me.”

When the cruel wretch was about to pluck out the eye, the crowd gathered there cried out in grief:

“Alas ! The lovely lotus is plucked from its beautiful bed.

From the crystal azure the moon's stainless lustre is shed.”

Whilst they lamented thus, the brute plucked out one of his eyes and gave it to the prince. The prince calmly took it and said:

“Where is thy power fled !

Why dost thou no beauty perceive ?

Alas ! Those who call thee their own thou dost deceive !

Of this, the vulgar are not aware.

Hence they follow the eyes

And fall into sin's snare !”

be found. At last he came across the beggar and his wife who were still singing in the coach-house. He reported to the king that it was not the prince singing but a beggar and his wife.

The king in great haste ordered:

“Let him be a beggar ! Be quick ! Bring him at once ! The anxiety for my son that fills my heart is choking me !”

The beggar with his wife was brought before the king. The broken-down blind man in rags and tatters was not fully recognised as the prince, even by his father ! With an anxious heart the king questioned, “Are you Kunāla ?” Hearing the reply, the emperor fell to the ground.

When he looked at his son's face,  
Pale as the waning moon,  
Bereft of the sparkling glance, sorrow broke his heart.  
The sovereign of the world fell senseless on the earth.  
When he regained consciousness, the king embraced his son.  
Tears brimmed in his eyes.  
Tenderly he caressed him and wiped his face.  
In mournful tones he said :  
“Thy eyes were beautiful like those of the kunāla ;  
Hence that name was given you.  
When I see no more those lovely eyes,  
How can I call thee Kunāla, my darling ?”

The legend of Kunāla may be named as the "legend of the lovely eyes". The eye has become the subject-matter of this story. It is remarkable how beautifully the metaphysical ideas and ethics of the Buddhists are transformed into a wonderful creation of art. The lovely eye which is a thing of beauty and which inspired a thrill of joy in all who glanced at it brought disaster to its possessor. To what great height of perfection a human soul may rise and also to what depth of degradation it may fall, are shown in the sublime personality of Kunāla and in the wicked nature of the queen Tiṣya<sup>o</sup> respectively. This woman was highly intelligent, wonderfully clever and extraordinarily wicked as well as cruel. Without the least hesitation she could order an Ābhīra patient to be killed in order to examine his stomach so that she might find the remedy for the disease which had attacked the king. In the same way, she could easily order the eyes of her step-son to be plucked out.

This story of Kunāla is given in verse<sup>1</sup> in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra (1100 A.D.). The last verse<sup>2</sup> of the *Kunālāvadāna* is reproduced in the *Avadānakalpalatā*:

राजन् न मे दुःखलवोऽस्ति कश्चित् तीव्रापकारेऽपि न मन्युतापः ।

मनः प्रसन्नं यदि मे जनन्यां येनोद्धृते च स्वकरेण नेत्रे<sup>३</sup> ।

तत्तेन सत्येन ममास्तु तावन्नेत्रद्वयं प्राक्तनमेव सद्यः ॥ LIX. 160-61.

#### THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPEROR AŚOKA

Not long before his death, Aśoka asked the Śramaṇas, "Who has given the largest donation to the Monastic Order?" The Śramaṇas replied, "Anāthapiṇḍada, the householder." "How much did he give?" questioned the emperor. "A thousand millions," the Śramaṇas replied.

<sup>1</sup> Only the forged order for plucking out the eyes of Kunāla is given in prose which runs thus:

svasti śrīpājaliputrād asamasamarasāhasasamāsāditasamastasiṅdhūsimāsamuccha-  
lad aviralavimalayaśaḥkalāpakalīṭadhavaladukūlavasudhāvadhūdatlabhogasubhāgya-  
garvakharvikṣṭavipularipupratāpah śāpa ivārātiramāṇivīlāsānāṁ prāṇatīpratīvimbitān-  
antasāmāntavaktraśatapatraikopātrikṣṭavimalamaṇipādapīṭhaḥ suhrṭkulakamalavikāśar ā-  
sareśvarah sphītaśauryamauryamahāvamaśavanapañcānaḥ śrīmad aśokadevas takṣaśilā-  
dhīpaṁ śrīkuṁjarakarmaṇāṁ sambodhayati. yathā: eṣa me nirapatrapah kucaritamaitrī  
parisrastacārītrah . . . samutpāṭītalocanamaṇir nirvasaro nirvāsyatām . . . ity asmad  
abhyarthanūprāṇayah.

<sup>2</sup> *Kunālāvadāna* : me nayane svayaṁ hi.

The emperor could no longer make any gift. In despair he sent to the monastery the gold plates in which his meals were served. When this was reported to the prince, meals were no longer served to the emperor in gold plates. Silver ones were used instead. Those too, the emperor sent to the monastery.

When the crown-prince came to know this, he ordered that no valuable plates should be used by the emperor. The result was that the emperor had to take his meals in earthen dishes.

He was practically interned in his chamber. Servants watched him, so that he could not send anything outside the palace. Only such things as were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of an old man were sent to him. Those too were only for his own use; he could not send them away.

When such was the plight of the emperor, he summoned his ministers and asked, "Who is now the sovereign of the world?"

With folded hands Rādhagupta replied, "Your Majesty." Aśoka sighed and said :

"Speak not untruth, in sympathy for me, my friend.

Where is my royal influence ? I am bereft of all my grace !  
The sovereign of the world is now plunged in the depths  
of dreadful penury.

Today he is worse off than a beggar; he possesses nothing  
Except this withered piece of an *āmalaka* fruit.

"Truly the Blessed One said: 'Wealth and riches are the cause of calamity.' How could His saying be otherwise ? My commands are obeyed no more. They are cast away like a stream striking a great rock:

"He suppressed the affray and tumult,  
Uprooted proud rivals and enemies,  
Ruled as the only sovereign of the world,  
Served miserable and suffering humanity !  
Now he himself is miserable and suffering.  
King Aśoka, deprived of his kingdom,  
Resembles the *aśoka* tree that withers  
Bereft of its twigs, leaves and flowers."

Aśoka then called a man who was standing near by and said, "Friend, keeping in mind that Aśoka once did good to



away all he possessed before he breathed his last<sup>1</sup>. And in return, he prayed for what ?

“As a result of this charity  
I crave not to be born in heaven  
Nor in the sacred world of Brahmā.  
I hanker no more for the kingdom of this world  
That is as unstable as rushing water in a flooded stream.  
May the merit accruing from this gift of a kingdom,  
So endowed with devotion,  
Make me the supreme lord of the mind.  
Grant me the treasure of the realm of spirit  
That is neither wasted nor robbed.”

A prayer so great and sublime cannot be uttered by any but a king of men. And indeed he was a king, a king of kings, the noblest king who ever reigned in this world.

A prayer like this had never before been found *anywhere* in ancient literature.

So the last chapter, the least in size, is the best in all respects, of all the chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna*. The composition is simple and lucid. The verses, so full of human feelings, are like fresh and beautiful and fragrant flowers.

Let us quote a few of the original verses:

The old king fell seriously ill before he could fulfil his promise; and so he was grieved. Tears rolled from his eyes. Minister Rādhagupta, the intimate friend of the king asked why he wept:

यच्छुद्धमङ्गैः प्रवर्तैः समेन्य नोर्द्धाशितं चण्डविवाकरामं ।

पद्याननश्रीजनमंप्रदीतं कस्मान् सजाप्यं तत्र देव वक्त्रं ॥ *cf.* p. lii.

When the king was practically interned in his room and had not even a farthing at his disposal, he asked his ministers, “Who is the king of the world ?” Rādhagupta replied, “Your Majesty indeed is the king.” Aśoka exclaimed :

वाशिष्यादेतुर्न हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाविराज्या वयं

शेषं त्वानलकार्थेनित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मन ।

ऐश्वर्यं शिगतायैमुद्धतनदीनोयप्रवेर्मापनं

मय्येन्द्रम्य मनापि यत् प्रतिदयं वाशिषमभ्यागतं ॥ *cf.* p. liii.

<sup>1</sup> Again I request my readers to remember that it is only a story and not history. It may be taken as a portrait of Aśoka drawn by a master artist which does not resemble Aśoka as a photograph but expresses his character.

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमरानेकातपत्रां महीम्  
 उत्पादय प्रतिगर्वितानरिगणानाश्वास्य दीनातुरान् ।  
 भ्रष्टास्व्वायतनो न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपः  
 छिन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा ॥ cf. p. liii.  
 एकच्छत्रां समुच्छ्रयां वसुमतीमाज्ञापयन् यः पुरा  
 लोकं तापयति स्म मध्यदिवसप्राप्तो दिवा भास्करः ।  
 भाग्यच्छिद्रमवेक्ष्य सोऽद्य नृपतिः स्वैः कर्मभिर्वञ्चितः  
 संप्राप्ते दिवसक्षये रविरिव भ्रष्टप्रभावः स्थितः ॥ cf. p. liv.

This episode also is reproduced from the *Sūtrāṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa.

In the *Avadānakalpalatā*, we find this story in brief, in a few verses which are quoted in the Appendix.

## AŚOKA, THE HISTORIC AND THE LEGENDARY<sup>1</sup>

The legends of Aśoka found here (and elsewhere) have no historical foundation. They should all be taken as stories and not as history. In all of them except the last one there is the tone of missionary propaganda of the Buddhists of ancient times. In order to demonstrate before the naive common people that even the most cruel man in the world may be changed into the most compassionate and the noblest of men, by the influence of Buddhist teachings, Aśoka is represented as the *Caṇḍāśoka* or *Kālāśoka* in his youth.

When we study these legends, we must efface from our mind first of all the historic Aśoka and then attempt to estimate their legendary and literary value.

As legends, they are attractive and interesting. As literature the work is valuable as among the first post-Vedic Sanskrit prose compositions. Even today some portions from them may be chosen as good literary compositions and a few may even be ranked as classics.

The historic Aśoka is great and perhaps the greatest of all the followers of Buddha. He is second to none but Buddha. In his youth he aspired to be great; first as a great emperor, a

<sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix; where a short sketch of his life based on epigraphical evidence is given together with his life that is legendary.

victorious king. But after the victory he achieved through bloodshed in Kalinga he began to change. Whether he had Upagupta or Tissa as his spiritual guide, it is very difficult to say, as there is no historical (epigraphic) evidence, only the traditions.

The great moral influence of that glorious age exerted by the holy persons, monks and nuns, their devotion and selfless service to suffering humanity roused in the heart of the emperor the dormant 'Universal love' (*maitrī*) for all living beings. This love was expressed in his compassion for the miserable, in his sympathy for the sick, in his charity to the poor and destitute, in his giving assurance of safety to helpless and shelterless humanity. His voice is still ringing in our ears: "All men are my offspring. Just as for my own offspring, I desire welfare and happiness, so do I desire for all men."

In his heart of hearts he was a king emperor, a victorious emperor. So when he gave up the idea of the conquest of kingdoms by the might of his soldiers, he dreamt of and realised a virtuous victory over kingdoms with the help of his spiritual followers, his comrades in the realm of spirit (*Dharma-mahā-mātras*). This glorious conquest, flavoured by love and inspired by Universal compassion (*karuṇā*) for all sentient beings, was declared by him, in his edicts, the best of all conquests<sup>1</sup>.

### THE MSS. COLLATED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

Our text is based mainly on the MSS. readings recorded in the *Dīvyāvadāna*. Besides these, we received microfilms of two MSS., viz. MS. No. G 9982A and the MS. No. A. 8 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the former, only the chapter *Pāṃśupradāna* (and that too incomplete) is found, while in the latter, only two chapters, the *Viśāoka*<sup>o</sup> and the *Aśoka*<sup>o</sup> are found. None of them contains the chapter *Kunāla*<sup>o</sup>.

The MS. No. G 9982A is found only in fragments. It is now in a very miserable condition. As it may not last for long, we made a microfilm of the whole of it and got it printed in an enlarged form.

All the MSS. collated by Cowell and Neil in the *Dīvyā*<sup>o</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> "The chiefest conquest is the conquest of Right and not of Might." Rock Edict XIII

copies of a single original which belonged to Pandit Indrānand of Patan, Nepal. He was the son of Guṇānand, the old Pandit then attached to the British Residency. Bendall, while he was in Nepal, borrowed this original MS. from Pandit Indrānand, the material of which is paper. Bendall assigned it to the 17th century A.D.

The editors of the *Divya*<sup>o</sup> made the following remarks about his MS. in their Preface (p. vii):

“Our MS. authorities therefore go back immediately to only one source, and our various readings are simply the result of the greater or less care of the respective transcribers; we can only at best reproduce the inaccessible Nepalese original; and where that is imperfect or corrupt, our MSS. give us no further help.

“This original is no doubt unusually correct for a Nepalese MS.; but it is corrupt in many places; and if we may judge by the passage in p. 21 which we have endeavoured to explain by the corresponding passage in the Pali *Mahāvagga*, some of the corruptions are very deep-seated and hopelessly beyond any mere verbal emendation. The old fragments of Nepalese MSS. which we have collated for App. B, shew that many of the errors in our present text are of very long standing. We have tried to give an intelligible text as far as it was possible; but where our original was hopeless, ‘et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem’, we have not attempted to force a meaning but have left it in its obscurity.”

So we cannot expect any remarkable difference in the MS. readings of the *Divya*<sup>o</sup>. There is rarely any distinctive difference between our MSS. or between them and those of the *Divya*<sup>o</sup>. Still, our MSS. helped me in some places. But none of them could throw light on most of the obscure readings. There the Chinese translations helped me to a great extent.

## CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXT

The *Asokāvadāna* went to China by two different routes and in two remote periods. It was Fa-ch'in of Parthia who translated it first into Chinese at about 300 A.D. Afterwards in 512 A.D., a Śramaṇa of Funan who was named Seng-ch'ieh-p'o-lo (Saṅghabhara ?) translated a different recension. The work became

rapidly popular in China, because in the year 516 A.D., the compilers of the *Ching-lu-i-siang* inserted numerous portions of it in their work.

We know almost nothing of the life of Fa-ch'in of Parthia. From the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka, we come to know only this, that he translated five Buddhist works at Lo-yang between 281 and 306 A.D., of which three had already been lost in 730 A.D.

Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman was a polyglot monk originally of Funan. Knowing that the Ch'i dynasty (479-501) favoured Buddhism, he went to China and settled in the Cheng-kuan monastery at Nanking. From 506 A.D. onwards, for seventeen years the emperor Wu of the Liang engaged him in translation of Buddhist works, along with other scholars. Thus he translated into Chinese eleven works in 48 chapters, one of which is the *A-yü-wang-ching*. It is said that the emperor Wu himself went to write down the holy texts dictated by him.

The two translations of the *Aśoka*<sup>2</sup> can be identified with certainty. All the catalogues agree in assigning the *A-yü-wang-chuan* in 7 chapters to Fa-ch'in of Parthia. This version was translated completely into French by J. Przyluski and published from Paris in 1923. I am grateful to him for this valuable translation of which I have taken full advantage in the text I have edited.

The title and the division of chapters of this work are not always the same. It is divided sometimes into seven and sometimes into five chapters and by turn it is named *A-yü-wang-ching* and *A-yü-wang-chuan*. Przyluski has always retained the latter title and I have followed him.

When the different catalogues are examined, the other translation that comes to notice is the *A-yü-wang-ching* in 10 chapters, the work of Saṅghabhara. This is the traditional title which is retained by Przyluski in his French translation of the *Aśoka*<sup>2</sup>.

The contents of the *Aśoka*<sup>2</sup> found in these two translations are probably complete. Besides these, long pieces have been incorporated in the Sanskrit text of the *Divya*<sup>2</sup> as well as in the *Tsa-a-han-ching* (Nanjio, 544; Taisho, No.99) which is the Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama*. The original of this work is lost. It was translated between 435 and 468 A.D. by Śramaṇa Guṇabhadra of Central India.

This *Samyuktāgama* which is similar to a great extent to the Pali *Samyutta-Nikāya* contains all the chapters of the *Asōka*<sup>o</sup> except the *Vitasōka*<sup>o</sup>. They correspond remarkably to the Sanskrit text of the *Asōka*<sup>o</sup>.

The *Pāmsu*<sup>o</sup> and the *Kunāla*<sup>o</sup> are found in chapter 23 while the *Asōka*<sup>o</sup> is at the end of chapter 25.

This last one is separated from the former two by topics entirely different from them.

The pieces preserved in the *Divya*<sup>o</sup> which were known to scholars in the West through the French translation by Burnouf are very near to the corresponding chapters of the *A-yü-wang-ching*. On the contrary, the *A-yü-wang-chuan* is remarkably different from all the recensions. It contains important readings which are not found elsewhere and so they are recorded at full length in the *Asōkāvādāna* edited by me.

It is to be noted here that I utilized the French translation of the Chinese by Przyłuski which is a very faithful translation. Hence, the comparison of the Sanskrit text with its Chinese versions was not so difficult for me.

The *Asōkāvādāna*, except the story of Kunāla, has no Tibetan translation. The story of Kunāla was translated into Tibetan<sup>1</sup> by the Indian Pandit Padmākaravarman and the Tibetan Lochaba Ratnabhadra (*Rin. chen. bzari. fo*) in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It is called *Kunālāvādāna* in Tibetan. But the other legends that precede the legend of Kunāla in the Sanskrit text are not found in it. The legend of Kunāla in Tibetan agrees with the Sanskrit text, though there are additions of passages here and there. For example, when Kunāla was born and when he was married, there are additional passages describing the pomp of the celebration.

In Tibetan, the story of Kunāla begins thus: "Obeisance to all Buddhas and Boddhisattvas. Asōka had then approached the third part of his life. In the first part of his life, he was called the ambitious Asōka (*Kāmāsōka*). In the second part, he was called the impetuous Asōka (*Kālāsōka* or *Caṇḍāsōka*). In the third, he was known as Asōka, the Just (*Dharmāsōka*)". After this, it reads: *yasmim eva divase*<sup>o</sup>, i.e. the same as the Sanskrit text.

<sup>1</sup> Narthang edition: *Bstan. 'gyur. Mdo. 'grel. U.*, pp. 281<sup>a</sup>-99<sup>b</sup>. (*Visva-Bharati Xylograph*, pp. 256<sup>a</sup>-70<sup>b</sup>). Dege: *Bstan. 'gyur. dul.ba. Su.*, pp. 227<sup>b</sup>.

## THE DATE AND THE AUTHOR OF THE AŚOKĀVADĀNA

We know nothing about the author or the compiler of the *Aśokāvadāna*. His name is not mentioned either in the Sanskrit text or in the Chinese (or Tibetan) versions.

About the date of its composition, we can with certainty fix a period, with upper and lower limits. A version of the text was composed between the second and the third century A.D. The following materials will lead any one to this conclusion: (i) In three of the four chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna*, passages are reproduced from the *Sūtrāṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa<sup>1</sup> which was composed between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. (ii) In one of its chapters there is mention of king Pūyamitra (c. 187-151 B.C.) who is described as the persecutor of Buddhism. (iii) In two of its chapters there is mention of the Roman coin denarius (*dināra*) which came to India during the first century A.D. (iv) The text was translated for the first time into Chinese in 281-306 A.D.

Considering the fact that a certain period must necessarily elapse after the composition of a work before a compiler takes extracts from it or a translator translates it into a foreign language, we may approximately fix the date of the *Aśokāvadāna* as the 2nd century A.D.

### WHERE WAS IT COMPOSED ?

Przyluski thinks that the *Aśokāvadāna* was composed in the region of Mathurā. He states the following in support of his theory:

“The legend of Buddha had already become fixed in its essential features. One could not dream of removing towards the West the place of the principal scenes of his life. It was necessary to imagine new episodes in order to prove the sanctity of the places recently converted.

“It was pretended that Buddha, a little before his end, had

<sup>1</sup> Those who doubt the authorship of Aśvaghōṣa are requested to read the following articles of Sylvain Lévi:

(i) *Aśvaghōṣa, le Sūtrāṅkāra et ses sources, Journal Asiatique, Juillet-Août, 1908.*

(ii) *Encore Aśvaghōṣa, Ibid, Octobre-Décembre, 1928.*

visited the region of the Northwest where he performed miracles and predicted the advent of Madhyāntika and Upagupta. This voyage is recorded in a certain number of writings, notably in the *Asokāvadāna* and in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin.

"In the *Asokāvadāna*, Upagupta is converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṅavāsa, the Apostle of Mathurā, while in the Vinaya of the Mūla° by Madhyāntika, the Apostle of Kashmir<sup>1</sup>.

"In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha travelled with Vajrapāṇi. He arrived first in the high Indus valley; while in the *Asoka*°, Buddha travelled with Ānanda. He arrived first at Mathurā and then went to Kashmir.

"In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha made a prediction of the Bhikṣu Madhyāntika and that king Kaniṣka would build a *stūpa*.

"In the *Asokāvadāna* Buddha prophesied the coming of Upagupta of Mathurā. The author of the Vinaya of the Mūla° wanted to glorify Kashmir and its neighbouring regions, while the author of the *Asoka*° had to glorify Mathurā first."

Stating this, Przyluski remarks: "The *Asoka*° and the Vinaya of the Mūla° must have been composed in the occidental regions; the first in Mathurā and the second in the further North."

## THE MEANING AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD *AVADĀNA*

Scholars have discussed at great length the meaning and the significance of the word *avadāna*. We note the substance here in brief:

Max Müller in his translation of the *Dhammapada* writes that the word *avadāna* is derived from *ava dai*<sup>2</sup>, a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story, the hearing of which purifies the mind.

<sup>1</sup> That Upagupta was born in Mathurā and was converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṅavāsa is confirmed even by the Vinaya of the Mūla° which in one place makes the following (self-contradictory) statement: "Āyuṣmān Ānanda said to the Bhikṣu Śāṇika (Śaṅavāsa), 'In the kingdom of Mathurā, there will be a Gandhika named Gupta...his son Upagupta...you will convert him and make him leave the world.'" *Le nord-ouest de l'Inde.*, p. 519. Cf. *J.A.*, 1914, II, pp. 495-522 & 538-40.

<sup>2</sup> *ava+dai* (to cleanse).



when taken in *bonam partem*, 'illustrious—, glorious achievements'. Yet in Buddhism, a more general sense is often applicable to the contents of the stories bearing that name; for even bad actions and the consequences of gathering demerit make up the main plot of some stories, e.g. those of the 5th decad and No.94 of *Avadānaśataka*."

Kunga Takahata in his Introduction to the *Ratnamālā-avadāna* elaborately deals with the different explanations of the word *avadāna*. He discusses there also the meaning of the word as found in the Chinese translations<sup>1</sup>.

After putting forward the explanations of the Western scholars he remarks (p. xxii):

"These are the main theories put forward; though one cannot reach any rapid conclusion about the original meaning of *avadāna*, yet it seems beyond doubt that the central idea underlying *Avadāna* literature is, in North and South alike, the purification of mind. . . . Again, if one takes into account the technical expression of *vyavadāna* (purification) and *saṃkleśa* (defilement) which is so important in Buddhism, it seems both possible and appropriate to assume that the original meaning of *avadāna*, at least as a Buddhist term, lies in the root *dai*. Further, since as is shown by the above quotation from Winternitz<sup>2</sup>, the words *avadāna* and *ititṛṭṭaka* can be taken as having the same meaning, it is possible for the two to be confused."

In conclusion, he observes that the interpretation of *avadāna* as *karman* or *kathā* may be permissible as later derivations but it is difficult to accept this as the original sense of the word (p. xxv).

The *Avadānas* are similar to the *Jātakas* in many respects. Both of them contain stories which are composed or compiled from the ancient literature both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic, to build up the moral conduct of the common people. They may be compared with the medieval Christian homilies.

Both the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* show the great and infalli-

<sup>1</sup> After discussing the various interpretations of the word *avadāna* and *ititṛṭṭaka*, he remarks: "In those days there were two opinions about *avadāna*, one that it meant parable and one that it referred to the karmic development of the holy disciples." In most of the *Avadānas* of the *Avadānaśataka* we find the following *śloka*: *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi kalpakōṣīṣatāir api. sāmagrīm prāpya kālān ca phalanti khalu dehinām.*

<sup>2</sup> and *Amarakośa*.

Most of the above later works *viz.*, *Kalpādruma*° etc. claim to preserve the discourses between Aśoka and his spiritual guide Upāgupta.

STRIKING RESEMBLANCE IN COMPOSITION OF STORIES  
OF *SŪTRĀLANKĀRA* AND *AŚOKĀVADĀNA*

As we have already pointed out, three of the stories in our text are reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa. The original of this work is lost. It is preserved in Chinese. Édouard Huber translated it into French in 1908.

Even in the translation of the translated version, we can see the striking resemblance between the composition of the two works. There is no doubt that these three stories were reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, almost in their original forms. A little alteration here and there (somewhere a little enlarged and somewhere a little abridged) is all. For comparison, we quote a few verses:

ब्रह्माणं ब्रज शरणं शतक्रतुं वा दीप्तं वा प्रविश हुताशमर्णवं वा ।  
न वलेदं न परिशोपणं न भेदं कण्ठस्थं कुणपमिदं तु यास्यतीह ॥

Indra and Brahmā<sup>1</sup>

will not be able to rid you of this.

Whether you enter into the flaring fire,  
or into the ocean;

They will neither be consumed nor will rot.

These corpses that hang upon you  
will neither dry up nor 'decompose.

शीघ्रं तमेव शरणं ब्रज यं समेत्य भ्रष्टस्त्वमृद्धिविभवाद् यशसः सुखाच्च ।  
भ्रष्टो हि यः क्षितितले भवतीह जन्तुरक्षिच्छति क्षितिमसावलम्बच भूयः ॥

Go quickly to him.

Implore his compassion and take refuge in him.

You have completely lost your supernatural power,  
your happiness, your glory.

Act like one who having slipped and fallen (on the earth)  
Supports himself on the earth to rise again.

<sup>1</sup>In order to avoid further alteration, I give here a literal translation of the French.

बुद्धानुसृष्टिपिण्डेन मनसा पुत्रा यदि त्वं मयि  
 मन्त्रानामप्युदरमपिण्डमि विमो दग्धो भविष्याम्य  
 वा शक्तिमेव पीतगणपित्तिना सोऽु प्रणामश्रियं  
 मन्त्रत्वानमिषोऽहमि न मद्रवेऽन्वृथाऽह्नुयाः ॥

If, reflecting respectfully on Buddha, you adore  
 you will burn me.

I shall not have the strength to endure the re-  
 spect of one who has abandoned desire.

Just as a sprout of *eranda* pressed by the trunk of  
 elephant cannot bear it, and perishes

So will be my fate, if I receive your respect.

वक्रनेपाभिभवन्दय इि कमल नीलोत्पल वक्षुता  
 वान्त्वा पृथक्वनं मनःप्रियतया वन्दे नमानयति ।  
 गाम्भीर्येण महोदधि सिपस्तया मेरु रधि नेत्रमा  
 गत्वा सिंहमयेधितेन पृथक् वक्तो चामीतरं ॥

By his countenance he surpasses the blooming lotus.

Like the petals of a blue lotus are his eyes.

By his figure he surpasses a forest of flowers.

By his loveliness he surpasses the moon.

By his profundity he resembles the ocean.

He is unshakable like the (mount) Sumeru.

By his majesty he surpasses the sun.

By his gait he surpasses the king of lions.

By his glance he is comparable to the king of bulls.

By his complexion he surpasses pure gold.

—*Māra and Uṣagupta*, pp. 264-71.

गोगर्भोरभ्रमृगद्विजानां मूल्यगृहीतानि शिरांसि पुम्भिः ।

शिरस्त्विदं मानुषमप्रशस्तं न गृह्यते मूल्यमृतेऽपि राजन् ॥

Heads of bulls, donkeys, horses, elephants (*darṣa* for *darja*)

pigs, sheep and those of all animals one could sell.

All bargained for them and bought them.

All the collected heads found purchasers.

Only the human head was considered abhorrent.

There was none who could use it.

Even gratuitously no one liked to take it.

I was injured; there was dearth of purchasers.

दधिघृतनवनीतक्षीरतक्रोपयोगाद् वरमपहृतसारो मण्डकुम्भोवभग्नः ।  
न भवति बहुशोच्यं यद्वदेवं शरीरं सुचरितहृतसारं नैति शोकोऽन्तकाले ॥

When from the milk, one has skimmed the cream;  
And when from it (cream) one has taken the butter;  
The vessel of milk has [not] in vain been broken.  
One does not grieve much for it.

It is the same with our body.

When one has taken away from it that which is durable,  
true and good;

When the end of his life comes he will die without regret.

सुचरितविमुखानां गवितानां यदा तु प्रसभमिह हि मृत्युः कायकुम्भं भिनत्ति ।  
दहति हृदयमेषां शोकवह्निस्तदानीं दधिघट इव भग्ने सर्वशोऽप्राप्तसारे ॥

But, if a man has not practised Good, if he has been  
careless and idle;

When death hastens to him, to break the vessel of  
the body,

He will have a heart full of violent regrets, as if it had  
been burnt by fire.

The *kleśas* are similar to fire, the vessel of milk is similar  
to the body.—*Kīng Aśoka and his minister Taśas*, pp. 92-5.

दाक्षिण्यादनृतं हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं  
शेषं त्वामलकार्धमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम ।  
ऐश्वर्यं धिगनार्यमुद्धतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपमं  
मर्त्येन्द्रस्य ममापि यत् प्रतिभयं दारिद्रमभ्यागतं ॥

You call me a great king !

You say that my orders are obeyed !

It is to flatter me you speak thus !

That which you come to say is but a lie.

My authority is dead.

And no more can I dispose of anything.

There is nothing more than this half of an *āmala* [ka]<sup>1</sup>

Which I may dispose of.

<sup>1</sup> Huber has wrongly translated it as *āmra* or mango. The Chinese translation is *an mo li* which is found in other places as a trans. of *āmala*.

From (being) rich I have become poor.  
 Alas ! How much am I to be blamed !  
 Like a torrent from the summit of a mountain,  
 Which falls without pausing for an instant ;  
 Poverty has come upon me  
 who in vain, is to be the sovereign over men ;  
 Poverty which all the world dreads.

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमरानेकातपत्रां महीं  
 उत्पाट्य प्रतिगवितानरिगणानाश्वास्य दीनातुरान् ।  
 भ्रष्टास्थायतनो न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपः  
 छिन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा ॥

When I had authority,  
 None dared oppose me.  
 None ever showed himself disloyal.  
 And rebellions were suppressed (cut off).  
 On the face of the great earth none could resist me.  
 Men or women, great or humble, none dared to disobey me.  
 And if anyone resisted my orders, I was in a position to  
 bend him.  
 All who suffered I recomforted them and brought them  
 to safety.  
 The sick and the poor, I saved them all.  
 But, now my merits are exhausted. All on a sudden  
 poverty has afflicted me.  
 And I am in misery to this degree !  
 If I am the king Aśoka ('without grief')  
 Why am I fallen thus in grief ?  
 I am like an *aśoka* tree of which one has cut off  
 the root (*mūla* for *mlāna*).  
 Its flowers, its foliage and branches all dry up :  
 That is what I resemble.

दानेनाहमनेन नेन्द्रभवनं न ब्रह्मलोके फलं  
 काङ्क्षामि द्रुतवारिवेगचपलां प्रागेव राजश्रियं ।  
 दानस्यास्य फलं तु भक्तिमहितं यन्मेऽस्ति तेनाप्नुयां  
 चित्तैश्वर्यमहार्यमार्यमहितं नायाति यद् विक्रियां ॥

By my good *karman* neither I wish to obtain

The rank of Indra nor the fruit of Brahmā.  
 Nor indeed the kingdom of Jambudvīpa.  
 By the fruit of alms-giving, by my devotion full of respect,  
 I desire only to attain domination over my mind.  
 Of which none will be able to deprive me.

—*King Aśoka reduced to poverty*, pp 139-42.

All the stories in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* begin with a precept. The story of Māra and Upagupta begins with: "Buddha has foreseen the future. One should have faith and should not act in a hurry".

The story of the minister Yaśas begins with: "The body is not durable. Therefore the wise one should, discriminating well, pay homage to them who deserve respect. This is called 'exchanging an unstable state for a stable one'."

The last story begins with: "When you are attacked with a serious illness, no one carries out your orders. Do quickly what you have to do while you still have your power".

Of these three stories the story of 'king Aśoka reduced to poverty' is a little different in form, from that of the *Aśokāvadāna*. It begins with: "Thus I have heard said: Aśoka, the king of Law [*Dharmarāja*] fell seriously ill. As he had given all his riches to the monks, he compelled his officials to procure treasures for him. But his officials did not wish to give him anymore. He could not procure anything but the half of an *āmalaka*. He assembled his officials;" etc.

Before sending the half of an *āmalaka*, his last gift to the Saṅgha, "Aśoka shaved his hair, and dressed himself in a coarse garment. He appeared upset. He was emaciated. He trembled. His respiration became painful. He turned towards the place where Buddha attained Nirvāṇa, joined his hands with effort and evoked in his spirit the virtue of Buddha. As his tears flowed, he uttered these sentences: . . . . 'I do not wish to obtain the rank of Indra';" etc.

After this speech, he sent the gift of the *āmalaka* to the monks. The passages here are similar to those which we find in the *Aśoka*<sup>o</sup>.

The end is: "Then the Sthavira said to the monks, 'Reduce it to powder and put it in the soup for the monks', and he added, 'This is the last gift of the great *dānapāti*, the king Aśoka.

The contents of the *Pāṃśupradāna*° is found in three *Avadānas* of the oldest Chinese version. They are (i) The *Upaguptāvadāna* (ii) The *Śāṇavāsyava*° and (iii) The *Pāṃśupradāna*°. It is clear from this that originally there were three separate *Avadānas* which later on were combined into one. The person who combined them into one, had to omit some portions while doing it.

The contents of the *Kunālāvadāna* are found also in three *Avadānas*, viz.: (i) The *Avadāna* of the recompense given by king Aśoka; (ii) The *Rājāśokāvadāna*; (iii) The *Kunāla*°.

We have kept the headings of these two chapters of our edition the same as found in the Sanskrit MSS.; but we have divided them into parts with (sub-)headings, according to the Chinese version.

The *Vitaśoka*° is called 'The *Avadāna* of the younger brother of king Aśoka' while the *Aśoka*° is called 'The *Ardhāmalakāvadāna*' in Chinese.

In the appendix we have given Aśoka's life based on epigraphic records and produced a few edicts of Aśoka and added notes on technical terms, rare or peculiar words and on sentences difficult to understand. We have added also references to some passages and a few parallel passages here and there.

I offer my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, who were very kind to provide me with microfilms of their MSS.

I express my deep obligations to the late Mr. J. Przyluski whose scholarly work on the *Aśokāvadāna* was used by me while comparing the Chinese translations of the text.

I express my gratitude to the Late Professors E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil whose edition of the *Divya*° was a constant companion to me, while I prepared the present edition of the text.

I know not how to express my love and respect for Dr. P. C. Bagchi, our late Director of Research studies, as well as Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, whose sudden death was a bolt from the blue to his numerous friends and admirers here in India and abroad. The sympathetic attitude, the valuable guidance and the facilities which the Research Scholars here received from him will be remembered for long.

अखिलजनशुभङ्करः शरण्यो  
विमलविरजसर्वधर्मपालः ।  
अरणकरुणसत्त्वलोकरक्षो  
वितरतु मधुरां मियः स मैत्रीम् ॥

Who affords shelter and does good to all creatures,  
Who protects all religions—stainless and pure,  
Who is peaceful and compassionate  
Who preserves all in the world of sentient beings,  
May he bestow on us sweet mutual amity.



अशोकावदानं

## पांशुप्रदानावदानं

योऽसौ स्वमांसतनुभिर्यजनानि कृत्वा-  
'तप्यच् चिरं करुणया जगतो हिताय ।  
तस्य श्रमस्य सफलीकरणाय सन्तः  
'सार्वजितं शृणुत सांप्रतभाष्यमाणं ॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये भगवान् श्रावस्त्यां विहरति ।  
इति सूत्रं वक्तव्यं । अत्र तावद् 'भगवत्तथागतवदनाम्भोधर-  
विवरप्रत्युद्गतवचनसरत्सलिलधारासम्पाताऽपनीतरागद्वेषमोहमदमान-  
मायाशाठ्यपङ्कपटलानां शब्दन्यायादितर्कशास्त्रार्थविलोकनोत्पन्नप्रज्ञा-  
प्रदीपप्रोत्सारितकुशास्त्रदर्शनान्धकाराणां संसारतृष्णाछेदिप्रवरसद्धर्म-  
पयःपानशौण्डानां गुरुणां संनिधौ सर्वाविवादकश्रेष्ठं<sup>४</sup> शक्रब्रह्मे-  
शानयमवरुणकुवेरवा[व]सवसोमादित्यादिभिरप्यप्रतिहतशासनं कन्दर्प-  
दर्पापमर्दनशूरं महात्मानम् अतिमहर्द्धिकं स्थविरोपगुप्तमारभ्य  
काञ्चिदेव विबुधजनमनःप्रसादकरीं घर्म्यां कथां समनुस्मरिष्यामः ।  
'तत्र तावद् गुरुभिरवहितश्रोत्रैर्भवितव्यं ।

<sup>१</sup>MA omits this śloka. Div. *tāvac ciraṃ*. <sup>२</sup>Div. *sammārjitaṃ*.  
<sup>३</sup>Div. *bhavantathā*. <sup>४</sup>MA & Div. *kaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ*. <sup>५</sup>MA *atra*.

## उपगुप्तोपाख्यानं

एवमनुश्रूयते । यदा भगवान् परिनिर्वाणकालसमयेऽपलालनागं विनीय कुम्भकारीं चण्डालीं गोपालीं च तेषां मथुरामनुप्राप्तः । तत्र भगवान् आयुष्मन्तमानन्दमामन्त्रयते स्म<sup>१</sup> । अस्यामानन्द मथुरायां मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य गुप्तो नाम गान्धिको भविष्यति । तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति उपगुप्तनामा<sup>२</sup> जलक्षणको बुद्धो यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति<sup>३</sup> । तस्याववादेन बहवो भिक्षवः सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद् अर्हत्त्वं साक्षात्करिष्यन्ति । तेऽष्टादशहस्तामायामेन द्वादशहस्तां विस्तारेण<sup>४</sup> चतुरङ्गुलमात्राभिः शलाकाभिर्<sup>५</sup> गुहां पूरयिष्यन्ति<sup>६</sup> । एषोऽग्नौ<sup>७</sup> मे आनन्द श्रावकाणां भविष्यति अववादनानां<sup>८</sup> यदुत उपगुप्तो भिक्षुः ।

पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दूरत एव नीलनीलाम्बरराजिं<sup>९</sup> । एवं भदन्त । एष आनन्द उरुमुण्डो<sup>१०</sup> नाम पर्वतः । अत्र वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य शाणकवासी<sup>११</sup> नाम भिक्षुर्भविष्यति । सोऽत्र उरुमुण्डपर्वते विहारं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति । उपगुप्तं च प्रव्राजयिष्यति ।

मथुरायामानन्द नटो भटश्च द्वौ भ्रातरौ<sup>१२</sup> श्रेष्ठिनौ<sup>१३</sup> भविष्यतः । तौ उरुमुण्डपर्वते विहारं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यतः । तस्य<sup>१४</sup> नटभटिकेति

<sup>१</sup>MA °*lim*. Div. AB *kumbhakārīn*, MA °*kāri*. <sup>२</sup>MA *āmantrayata*. Ch1 "In the kingdom of Mathurā, Buddha said to Ānanda..." It omits the above passage. Ch2 begins: *yadā bhagavān parinirvāṇakāla-samaye apalālanāgarājānī vinīya gopālānī caṇḍālīnī nāgarājānī ca mathurārājyaṃ anuprāptaḥ*. <sup>३</sup>Div. *madhu*°. <sup>४</sup>Ch1 *grhapatir*. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 adds: "who will teach the Law of *dhyāna*. He will be the best of all the disciples." <sup>६</sup>Ch1 adds: "who will make conversions like myself." <sup>७</sup>Div. °*ddham kār्याn bhavi*°. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 "innumerable living beings". <sup>९-१०</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>११</sup>Ch1 "36 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth". <sup>१२-१३</sup>Div. & MA *śaṅkakābhīh* (MA indistinct) *pūjayiṣy*°. <sup>१४</sup>Div. °*grā me*. <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 *sarveṣān*. <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 "Buddha again said to Ānanda, 'Now do you see this green forest?'" <sup>१७</sup>Div. & MA *ruru*°. <sup>१८</sup>Ch1 *Śānavāsa*. <sup>१९</sup>Ch1 *kulaputrau*. <sup>२०</sup>MA omits.

संज्ञा भविष्यति । एतदग्रं मे आनन्द भविष्यति शमथानुकूलानां शय्यासनानां यदिदं नटभटिकारण्यायतनं<sup>१</sup> ।

अथायुष्मान् आनन्दो भगवन्तमिदमवोचत् । आश्चर्यं भदन्त यद् ईदृशमायुष्मान्<sup>२</sup> उपगुप्तो बहुजनहितं करिष्यति । भगवान् आह । नानन्द एतद्दि, यथाती<sup>३</sup>तेऽप्यध्वनि तेन विनिपतितशरीरेणाप्यत्रैव बहुजनहितं<sup>४</sup> कृतं ।

०उरुमुण्डपर्वते त्रयः<sup>५</sup> पार्श्वीः<sup>६</sup> । एकत्र प्रदेशे पञ्च प्रत्येकबुद्धशतानि प्रतिवसन्ति । द्वितीये पञ्चर्षिशतानि । तृतीये पञ्चमर्कटशतानि । तत्र योऽसौ पञ्चानां मर्कटशतानां यूथपतिः स तं<sup>७</sup> यूथमपहाय<sup>८</sup> यत्र पार्श्वे पञ्च प्रत्येकबुद्धशतानि प्रतिवसन्ति तत्र गतः । तस्य तान्<sup>९</sup> प्रत्येकबुद्धान्<sup>१०</sup> दृष्ट्वा<sup>११</sup> प्रसादो जातः । स तेषां प्रत्येकबुद्धानां शीर्णपर्णानि<sup>१२</sup> मूल<sup>१३</sup>-फलानि चोपनामयति, यदा च ते पर्यङ्केणोपविष्टा<sup>१४</sup> भवन्ति<sup>१५</sup> स "वृद्धान्ते प्रणामं कृत्वा यावन् नवान्तं गत्वा<sup>१६</sup> पर्यङ्केणोपविशति ।

यावत् ते प्रत्येकबुद्धाः परिनिर्वृताः । स तेषां शीर्णपर्णानि<sup>१७</sup> मूल<sup>१८</sup>-फलानि चोपनामयति । ते न प्रतिगृह्णन्ति । स<sup>१९</sup> तेषां चीवरकर्णिकानि आकर्षयति । पादौ गृह्णाति । यावत् स मर्कटश्चिन्तयति । नियतमेते कालगता भविष्यन्ति । ततः स मर्कटः शोचित्वा परिदेवित्वा च<sup>२०</sup> द्वितीयं पार्श्वं गतो यत्र पञ्चर्षि<sup>२१</sup>शतानि प्रतिवसन्ति ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 "There in solitude and sanctity, one will be able to live and meditate. Cell and couch there will be all that is necessary." <sup>२-३</sup>Ch1 *bhagavan*. <sup>४</sup>MA erased from *thāite* to *śarīre*. <sup>५-६</sup>Div. omits. MA omits *eva bahu*<sup>०</sup>. It is adopted from the Chinese. Ch1 reads this sentence thus: "Not only by the numerous conversions of the time referred to, but also in the past, during innumerable *kalpas* he has done much good." <sup>७</sup>Ch1 adds: "If you want to know it, listen with attention. I am going to tell you the story." <sup>८</sup>Ch1 omits. MA <sup>९</sup>*śva*. <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 *puṣpāni*. <sup>११</sup>Ch1 *dhyānamagnās ca*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Ch1 *tān anusaran antasthītaḥ kṛtāñjalīḥ*. <sup>१४-१५</sup>Ch1 "Thereupon, the monkey pulled them, pushed them, catching them by their clothes; but they did not move. The monkey understood that they had entered Nirvāṇa and he was aggrieved. *atha sa*." <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 *brāhmaṇa*<sup>०</sup>.

ते च ऋषयः केचित् 'कण्टकापाश्रयाः केचिद्' भस्मापाश्रयाः<sup>१</sup>  
केचिदूर्ध्वहस्ताः<sup>२</sup> केचित् पञ्चातपावस्थिताः। स तेषां तेषाम्  
ईर्यापथान् विक्रोपयितुमारब्धः<sup>३</sup>। ये कण्टकापाश्रयास्तेषां कण्ट-  
कान् उद्धरति। भस्मापाश्रयाणां भस्म विघ्नोति। ऊर्ध्वहस्तानामघो  
हस्तं पातयति<sup>४</sup>। पञ्चातपावस्थितानामग्निम् अवकिरति। यदा<sup>५</sup> च  
तैरीर्यापथो विक्रोपितो भवति तदा स तेषामग्रतः पर्यङ्कं वध्नाति<sup>६</sup>।

यावत् तैर्ऋषिभिराचार्याय<sup>७</sup> निवेदितं। तेनापि चोक्तं<sup>८</sup>।  
पर्यङ्केण तावन् निपीदत<sup>९</sup>। यावत्तानि पञ्चपिगतानि पर्यङ्केणोप-  
विष्टानि<sup>१०</sup>। तेऽनाचार्यका अनुपदेशकाः<sup>११</sup> सप्तत्रिंशद् बोधिपदान्  
धर्मानामुखीकृत्य प्रत्येकां बोधिं साक्षात्कृतवन्तः।

अथ तेषां प्रत्येकबुद्धानामेतदभवद्। यत् किञ्चिदस्माभिः  
श्रेयोऽवाप्तं<sup>१२</sup> तत् सर्वमिमं मर्कटम् आगम्य<sup>१३</sup>। तैर्यावत् स मर्कटः फल-  
मूलैः<sup>१४</sup> परिपालितः<sup>१५</sup>। कालगतस्य च तच्छरीरं गन्धकाष्टैर्व्मापितं<sup>१६</sup>।

तत्<sup>१७</sup> किं मन्यसे<sup>१८</sup> आनन्द योऽसौ पञ्चानां<sup>१९</sup> मर्कटशतानां  
यूथपतिः<sup>२०</sup> स एष उपगुप्तः। "तदापि तेन विनिपतितशरीरेणाप्य-  
त्रैवोरुमुण्डपर्वते बहुजनहितं कृतं। अनागतेऽप्यध्वनि वर्षशतपरि-  
निर्वृतस्य ममात्रैवोरुमुण्डपर्वते बहुजनहितं करिष्यति। तच्च यद्यैवं  
तथोपदर्शयिष्यामः<sup>२१</sup>।

<sup>१</sup>Div. *kaṅṭha*. <sup>२</sup>MA omits. ChI adds: *kecid ūrdhrapadāḥ*. <sup>३</sup>ChI adds: *kecid adhomukhāḥ*. <sup>४</sup>ChI omits this sentence. <sup>५</sup>MA omits *teṣāṃ*. <sup>६</sup>MA *adhohastānām pātayisyati*. ChI adds: *adhomukhānām bandhanarajjūṃ chetti ūrdhrapadānām pādam pātayati*. <sup>७-८</sup>ChI "Being astonished at what they did, *sa teṣāṃ agrataḥ paryanīkeṇopaviśati*." <sup>९-१०</sup>ChI *°bhiḥ pañcaśatair uktam*. <sup>११</sup>MA & Div. *°tha*. <sup>१०-११</sup>ChI reads: "Look! The monkey is astonished at what we do. Let us imitate what he does!" <sup>१२</sup>ChI adds: "They reflected and held their thoughts strongly restrained." <sup>१३</sup>ChI *°svayam upadiṣṭāḥ*. <sup>१४</sup>ChI या चास्माभिः प्रत्येका बोधिरवाप्ता ताऽस्य मर्कटस्य प्रसादादवाप्ता। <sup>१५</sup>Div. *°myāt*. <sup>१६</sup>ChI *°puṣṭair arcitāḥ*. <sup>१७</sup>ChI adds: "and offered him offerings." Div. *°dhyāpitāḥ*. <sup>१८</sup>MA omits. <sup>१९-२०</sup>ChI omits. <sup>२०-२१</sup>Ch *°markataḥ*. <sup>२२-२३</sup>ChI reads: "Formerly, when he was a monkey, he did good to the five hundred Ṛṣis and made them attain and attest the Way."

## शाणकवास्युपाख्यानं

‘यदा स्थविरेण शाणकवासिना उरुमुण्डे पर्वते विहारः प्रतिष्ठापितः, समन्वाहरति । किमसौ गान्धिक<sup>१</sup> उत्पन्नः । अथाद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति । पश्यत्युत्पन्नः । स यावत् ‘समन्वाहरति । योऽसौ तस्य पुत्र उपगुप्तो नाम्नाऽलक्षणको बुद्धो निर्दिष्टो यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यतीति, किमसावुत्पन्नः । अद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति । पश्यत्यद्यापि नोत्पद्यते’ ।

तेन यावदुपायेन गुप्तो गान्धिको<sup>२</sup> भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादितः । ‘स यदाऽभिप्रसन्नस्तदा स्थविरः संवहुलैर्भिक्षुभिः सार्वमेकदिवसं तस्य गृहं प्रविष्टः । अपरस्मिन्नहनि, आत्मद्वितीयः । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि, एकाकी’ । यावद् गुप्तो गान्धिकः स्थविरं शाणकवासिनमेकाकिनं दृष्ट्वा कथयति । न खल्वार्यस्य कश्चित् पश्चाच्छ्रमणः । स्थविर उवाच । ‘जराधर्माणां कुतोऽस्माकं पश्चाच्छ्रमणो भवति’ । यदि केचि-

<sup>1</sup>Ch1 reads before this: “Begging his food, he arrived at the threshold of the *grhapati* Naṭa and Bhaṭa. He said to the *grhapati*: ‘Give me money, I wish to establish now an *aranya* (hermitage) on the mount Urumuṇḍa.’ The master of the house (*grhapati*) said: ‘Why shall we give you money?’ He replied: ‘Buddha has made this prediction: “After my Nirvāṇa, in the kingdom of Mathurā, there shall be two brothers (sons) of the chief of a family, one of them named Naṭa and the other named Bhaṭa. On the mount Urumuṇḍa, they will establish an *aranya*. The place where they will establish it, will be called *naṭa-bhaṭiṇya*.” The *grhapati* said: ‘Is it the prediction of Buddha?’ He answered: ‘This is the prediction of Buddha.’ Then the *grhapati* gave money, and on that mountain a demeure for the Saṅgha was made, which was named the *naṭabhaṭiṇya* hermitage.” <sup>2</sup>Ch1 Gupta. <sup>3-4</sup>Ch1 “He contemplated again asking himself if the son of Gupta was born. (He saw) that (Gupta) still had no child.” <sup>5</sup>Ch1 “Little by little, he instructed, converted Gupta and. . . .” <sup>6-7</sup>Ch1 reads: “When the Venerable Śāṅavāsa was engaged in his (Gupta’s) conversion, he was accompanied by numerous Bhikṣus who were led to his (Gupta’s) house. Gradually, the number of those who accompanied him became less and less, so that one day he came there alone.” <sup>8</sup>Ch1 “We have none to escort or to serve us.”

च्छ्रद्धापुरोगेण प्रव्रजन्ति, तेऽस्माकं पश्चाच्छ्रमणा भवन्ति । गुप्तो गान्धिक उवाच । आर्याहं तावद् गृह्वासे परिरुद्धो विपयाऽभिरतश्च<sup>१</sup> । न मया शक्यं प्रव्रजितुं<sup>२</sup> । अपि तु योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भवति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः । स्थविर उवाच । वत्स एवमस्तु । अपि तु दृढप्रतिज्ञां स्मरेथास्त्वमिति ।

यावद् गुप्तस्य गान्धिकस्य पुत्रो जातः । तस्याश्वगुप्त<sup>३</sup> इति नामधेयं कृतं ।

स यदा महान् संवृत्तस्तदा<sup>४</sup> स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमधिगम्योवाच । वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं<sup>५</sup> दास्यामः । अयं च पुत्रो जातः<sup>६</sup> । अनुजानीहि प्रव्रजयिष्यामीति<sup>७</sup> । गान्धिक उवाच । आर्य अयमस्माकमेकपुत्रः । मर्षयान्यो योऽस्माकं द्वितीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति, तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः ।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी<sup>८</sup> समन्वाहरति । किमयं स उपगुप्तः । "पश्यति नेति । तेन स्थविरेणाभिहित एवमस्त्विति"<sup>९</sup> । तस्य यावद् द्वितीयः पुत्रो जातः । तस्य धनगुप्त<sup>१०</sup> इति नाम कृतं । सोपि यदा महान् संवृत्तस्तदा स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमुवाच । वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः । "अयं च ते पुत्रो जातः । अनुजानीहि प्रव्रजयिष्यामीति । गान्धिक उवाच । आर्य मर्षय<sup>११</sup> एकोऽस्माकं वहिर्धाद्रव्यं संचयिष्यति<sup>१२</sup>, द्वितीयोऽन्तर्गृहे परिपालनं करिष्यतीति<sup>१३</sup> । अपि तु योऽस्माकं तृतीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति स आर्यस्य दत्तः ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 "I am attached to things profane." <sup>२</sup>Ch1 adds: *tava paścāc-chramāṇo vā bhavitum*. <sup>३</sup>Ch2 Apagupta. <sup>४</sup>Ch1 "Little by little, he grew up." <sup>५</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>६</sup>Div. omits this sentence. <sup>७</sup>Div. *pravraji*°. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 omits this sentence. <sup>९</sup>MA erased. <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 omits these sentences. <sup>११</sup>Ch1 "The Venerable approved." <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 Dhanigupta (?). Ch2 Dhana°. <sup>१३</sup>MA erased. <sup>१४</sup>MA erased. <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१६</sup>Div. *samśayi*°. <sup>१७</sup>MA omits *iti*.

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी समन्वाहरति । किमयं स उपगुप्तः । पश्यति नेति<sup>३</sup> । ततः स्थविर उवाच । एवमस्त्विति । यावद् गुप्तस्य गान्धिकस्य तृतीयः पुत्रो जातः । <sup>३</sup>अभिरूपो दर्शनीयः<sup>४</sup> प्रासादिकोऽतिक्रान्तो मानुषवर्णमसंप्राप्तश्च दिव्यवर्णः । तस्य विस्तरेण<sup>५</sup> जातौ जातिमहं कृत्वा<sup>६</sup> उपगुप्त इति नाम कृतम् । सोऽपि यदा महान् संवृत्तो यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमभिगम्योवाच<sup>७</sup> । वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं तृतीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य दास्यामः <sup>८</sup>पश्चाच्छ्रमणार्थे<sup>८</sup> । अयं ते तृतीयः पुत्र उत्पन्नः । अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति । गुप्तो गान्धिक उवाच । <sup>९</sup>आर्य समयतः । यदाऽलाभोऽनुच्छेदो भविष्यतीति <sup>१०</sup>तदाऽनुज्ञास्यामि<sup>१०</sup> ।

यदा तेन समयः कृतस्तदा मारेण सर्वावती मथुरा गन्धाविष्टा<sup>११</sup> । ते (मथुरावासिनः) सर्वे उपगुप्तसकाशाद् गन्धान् क्रीणन्ति । स प्रभूतान् ददाति<sup>१२</sup> ।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी उपगुप्तसकाशं गतः । <sup>१३</sup>उपगुप्तश्च गन्धापणे स्थितः । स धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति । गन्धान् विक्रीणीते । स स्थविरेण शाणकवासिनाभिहितः । वत्स कीदृशास्ते चित्तचैतसिकाः प्रवर्तन्ते । क्लिष्टा वाऽक्लिष्टा वेति<sup>१४</sup> । उपगुप्त उवाच । आर्य

<sup>1-2</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>3-4</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>5-6</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>7</sup>Ch1 "Gradually he grew up. He was engaged in selling perfumes. He proved to be strictly honest. So his trade procured for him large profits. The Sthavira contemplated whether Gupta had given birth to a son. He saw that he had (already) given birth to a son. He went to the house of Gupta and said. . . ." <sup>8</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>10</sup>Div. A *tathā*. <sup>11</sup>MA *tad ājñā*<sup>2</sup>. <sup>9-11</sup>Ch1 reads: "If that does not stop my profits, I shall give him to you. O Venerable One, that you may save him and make him forsake the world." <sup>12</sup>Div. *°ṣṭāh*. <sup>13</sup>MA & Div. *prabhūtāni dāsyati*. <sup>11-13</sup>Ch1 "At that moment, Māra, the king (of demons) invited all, to the kingdom of Mathurā and led them to the house of Gupta for purchasing (perfumes). Because of the invitation of Māra, there was a multitude of purchasers and Gupta realized very high profits." <sup>14</sup><sup>1-2</sup>Ch1 "He was selling perfumes in the market. Seeing him, the Venerable said: 'My son, have you pure or impure thoughts, in your business?'"



नैव जानामि कीदृशाः क्लिष्टाश्चित्तचैतसिकाः कीदृशा अक्लिष्टा इति । स्थविरशाणकवासी उवाच । 'वत्स यदि केवलं चित्तं परि-  
ज्ञातुं<sup>१</sup> शक्यसि प्रतिपक्षं मोक्षयितुं । तेन तस्य<sup>२</sup> कृष्णिकपट्टिका दत्ता  
पाण्डुरिका च । यदि क्लिष्टं चित्तमुत्पद्यते कृष्णिकां पट्टिकां स्थापय ।  
अथाऽक्लिष्टं चित्तमुत्पद्यते पाण्डुरां पट्टिकां स्थापय<sup>३</sup> । अशुभां<sup>४</sup>  
मनसि कुरु । बुद्धानुस्मृतिं च भावयस्वेति । तेनास्य व्यपदिष्टं<sup>५</sup> ।

तस्य यावदारब्धा अक्लिष्टाश्चित्तचैतसिकाः<sup>६</sup> प्रवर्तितुं । 'स द्वौ  
भागौ कृष्णिकानां स्थापयति । एकं पाण्डुरिकाणां । 'यावदर्ध  
कृष्णिकानां स्थापयति । अर्धं पाण्डुरिकाणां । यावद् द्वौ भागौ पाण्डु-  
रिकाणां स्थापयति । एकं कृष्णिकानां<sup>७</sup> ।

यावदनुपूर्वेण<sup>८</sup> सर्वाण्येव शुक्लानि चित्तान्युत्पद्यन्ते । स पाण्डु-  
रिकाणामेव पट्टिकां स्थापयति<sup>९</sup> । धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति<sup>१०</sup> ।

मथुरायां वासवदत्ता नाम गणिका । तस्या दासी उपगुप्त-  
सकाशं गत्वा गन्वान्<sup>११</sup> क्रीणाति । सा<sup>१२</sup> वासवदत्तया चोच्यते । दारिके  
मुप्यते स गान्धिकस्त्वया, वहून् गन्वान् आनयसीति<sup>१३</sup> । दारिकोवाच<sup>१४</sup> ।  
आर्यदुहित उपगुप्तो 'गान्धिकदारको 'रूपसम्पन्नश्चातुर्यमाधुर्यं'-

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 adds: "Feelings of lust, passion and anger for one another are called 'impure thoughts'. When (people's) inter-  
courses are free from these, they are (called) 'pure thoughts'."

<sup>२</sup>Div. adds *na* here which is not found either in MA or in Ch.

<sup>३-४</sup>Ch1 puts this in the following way: "O my son! Being thus capable of knowing the origin of your thoughts, if (you see that) the source of your thoughts is bad, put on the left a black pebble. If your thought is good, put on the right, a white pebble." <sup>५</sup>MA & Div. *tasyā*. <sup>६</sup>Div. *śubhām*. MA indistinct. It seems to be *aśu*°.

<sup>७-८</sup>Ch1 "He taught [Upa-]Gupta the meditation on Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*) and the contemplation on impurities (*aśubha-  
bhāvanā*)." <sup>९</sup>Div. °*kā pra*°. Ch1 omits this sentence. <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 adds: "On the first day". <sup>११</sup>Ch1 adds: "On the second day". <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 omits this sentence. <sup>१३</sup>Div. & MA °*pūrve*. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 adds: न कृष्णिकानां । अक्लिष्टा

एव चित्तचैतसिकाः प्रवर्तन्ते । न क्लिष्टाः । MA omits *dharmena*. <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 adds: *nādharmena*. <sup>१६</sup>MA omits. <sup>१७</sup>MA & Div. *so*. Ch1 adds: *kruddhayā*. <sup>१८</sup>Ch1 reads: "You went to steal ! Where did you procure such large quantities of these excellent perfumes ?"

<sup>१९</sup>Ch1 adds: "Certainly, I have not stolen." <sup>२०</sup>Ch1 *gūpta-  
dārako*. <sup>२१-२२</sup>Ch1 "a good and honest man".

सम्पन्नश्च धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति । श्रुत्वा च वासवदत्ताया उपगुप्त-  
सकाशे सानुरागं चित्तमुत्पन्नं । तया यावद् दासी उपगुप्तसकाशं  
प्रेषिता । १त्वत्सकाशमागमिष्यामि । इच्छामि त्वया सार्धं रतिमनु-  
भवितुं । यावद् दास्या उपगुप्तस्य निवेदितं<sup>३</sup> । उपगुप्त उवाच ।  
अकालस्ते<sup>४</sup> भगिनि ५मद्दर्शनायेति ।

वासवदत्ता पञ्चभिः पुराणशतैः परिचार्यते<sup>६</sup> । तस्या वृद्धि-  
रुत्पन्ना<sup>७</sup> । नियतं पञ्चपुराणशतानि नोत्सहते दातुं<sup>८</sup> । तया यावद्  
दासी उपगुप्तसकाशं प्रेषिता<sup>९</sup> । न ममार्यपुत्रसकाशात् कार्षापिणेनापि<sup>१०</sup>  
प्रयोजनं । ११केवलमार्यपुत्रेण सह रतिमनुभवेयं । दास्या तथा निवेदितं<sup>१२</sup> ।  
उपगुप्त उवाच । अकालस्ते भगिनि मद्दर्शनायेति<sup>१३</sup> ।

यावदन्यतरः श्रेष्ठि-<sup>१४</sup>पुत्रो वासवदत्तायाः सकाशं प्रविष्टः ।  
अन्यतरश्च सार्धवाह<sup>१५</sup> उत्तरापथात् १६पञ्चशतमश्वपण्यं गृहीत्वा<sup>१७</sup>  
मथुरामनुप्राप्तः । तेनाभिहितं । कतरा वेश्या सर्वप्रधाना, तेन श्रुतं  
वासवदत्तेति<sup>१८</sup> । स पञ्चपुराणशतानि गृहीत्वा बहून् च प्राभृतान्  
वासवदत्तायाः सकाशमभिगतः<sup>१९</sup> ।

ततो वासवदत्त<sup>२०</sup>या लोभाकृष्टया<sup>२१</sup> तं श्रेष्ठिपुत्रं प्रघातयित्वा-  
ज्वस्करे<sup>२२</sup> प्रक्षिप्य सार्धवाहेन सह रतिरनुभूता<sup>२३</sup> । यावत् स श्रेष्ठि-

1-2ChI "to tell Upagupta: 'My mistress has no need (of presents) but she likes to have an interview with you.'" 3-4ChI *akālo'yam asmākaṁ darśa*°. 5ChI "Till that time it was the rule that Vāsavadattā, the courtesan, received five hundred pieces of gold to pass a night with a man." 6-7MA erased. ChI omits these two sentences. 8ChI "sent again to tell". 9ChI "even a farthing". It omits *ārya-putra*°. 10-11ChI "Come alone for a few moments so that I may have an interview with you." 11MA omits this sentence. 11-12ChI omits. 13ChI "son of a high family to pass a night". 13-14MA erased. 15-16ChI "with large baggages and precious things". 17MA °*dattām*. ChI adds: "She receives five hundred pieces of gold to pass a single night with a man." 18ChI "He took five hundred pieces of gold, put on beautiful clothing and a necklace and reached the house of. . .". 19-21MA erased. 20MA & Div. °*kṛṣṭena*. 22MA & Div. *ratim*°. ChI reads: "Then that courtesan as she coveted those five hundred pieces

पुत्रो बन्धुभिरवस्कराद् उद्धृत्य राजो निवेदितः । ततो राजाऽ-  
भिहितं । गच्छन्तु भवन्तो वामवदत्तां हस्तपादी कर्णनासे च छित्त्वा  
ऽमशाने' छोरयन्तु' ।

यावत्तैर्वामवदत्ता' हस्तपादी' कर्णनासे' च छित्त्वा ऽमशाने  
छोरिता । यावद् उपगुप्तेन श्रुतं वामवदत्ता हस्तपादी' कर्णनासे' च  
छित्त्वा ऽमशाने "छोरिता । तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । पूर्वं तथा मम  
विषयनिमित्तं दर्यनमा'काङ्क्षितं । इदानीं तु तस्या हस्तपादी कर्ण-  
नासे' च विकर्तिती । इदानीं तु तस्या दर्यनकाल इति । आह च" ।

यदा प्रयन्ताम्बरसंवृता ह्री अभूद् विचित्राभरणै'विभूषिता ।

मोक्षार्थिनां जन्मपराङ्मुखाणां श्रेयस्तदाऽस्यास्तु न दर्यनं स्यात् ॥

इदानीं तु काञ्चोऽयं द्रष्टुं गतमानरागहर्षायाः ।

निशिता'ऽभिषिक्तनायाः स्वभावनियतस्य त्वपस्य" ॥

यावदेकेन 'दाग्केण उपस्थायकेन "छत्रमादाय प्रयान्तेनेर्या-  
पथेन" ऽमशानमनुप्राप्तः । तस्याच्च प्रेषिका पूर्वगुप्तानुरागात् 'समीपे-  
ऽवस्थिता" काकादीन् निवारयति । तथा च वामवदत्ताया निवेदितं ।

of gold of that merchant, killed the son of the high family and  
buried him in the house."

<sup>1-2</sup>MA erased. <sup>2</sup>Div. °tam. lato. Chl "The friends of the  
kulaputra searched up to the house of the courtesan and  
digging the earth found (the dead body). So they repor-  
ted to the king thus: 'The courtesan Vāsavadattā has  
put to death a kulaputra.'" <sup>3</sup>Chl adds: "Vāsavadattā be  
arrested." <sup>4</sup>Chl " . . . be thrown on the cremation ground."  
Div. hastapādā karṇanāsām. MA °nāsām. <sup>5</sup>Div. °dadyām. <sup>6</sup>Div.  
& MA °pādā. <sup>7</sup>Div. °nāsāñ. MA nāsām. <sup>8</sup>MA & Div. °pādā.  
<sup>9</sup>MA nāsā. Div. °nāsāñ. <sup>10-11</sup>MA erased. <sup>12</sup>Div. °pādakarṇanāsāñ,  
MA °pāda . . . sām. <sup>13</sup>Chl "Upagupta having heard those  
things, uttered these words: 'Formerly, in the glory of her  
beauty, this girl called me as she wished pleasure . . . Now  
when her ears and nose are chopped off and the hands and feet  
are cut off, when lust has left her, this is the good time (to go to  
her).'" <sup>14-15</sup>MA erased. <sup>16</sup>Chl reads: "In the beginning, when  
she was adorned with her dresses and ornaments, she breathed lust  
and passion. At that time, it was not proper to go to her. Now,  
when she is free from lust and passion, it is necessary to go there."  
<sup>17</sup>Chl omits. <sup>18-19</sup>Chl omits.

'आर्यदुहितर्यस्य त्वयाऽहं सकाशं पुनः पुनरनुप्रेषिता अयं स<sup>१</sup> उपगुप्तोऽ-  
म्यागतः । 'नियतमेष कामरागार्तं आगतो भविष्यति । श्रुत्वा च<sup>२</sup>  
वासवदत्ता कथयति<sup>३</sup> ।

प्रनष्टशोभां दुःखार्तां भूमौ रुधिरपिञ्जरां ।

मां दृष्ट्वा कथमेतस्य कामरागो भविष्यति<sup>४</sup> ॥

ततः प्रेषिकामुवाच । यौ हस्तपादौ कर्णनासे<sup>५</sup> च मच्छरीराद्  
विकर्तितौ तौ श्लेषयेति । 'तया यावच् छ्लेषयित्वा<sup>६</sup> पट्टकेन प्रच्छा-  
दिता<sup>७</sup> । उपगुप्तश्चागत्य वासवदत्ताया अग्रतः स्थितः ।

ततो वासवदत्ता उपगुप्तमग्रतः स्थितं दृष्ट्वा कथयति ।  
आर्यपुत्र, यदा मच्छरीरं स्वस्थभूतं विषयरत्यनुकूलं<sup>८</sup> तदा मया  
आर्यपुत्रस्य पुनः पुनर्<sup>९</sup> दूती विसर्जिता । आर्यपुत्रेणाभिहितं<sup>१०</sup> ।  
अकालस्ते भगिनि मम दर्शनायेति । इदानीं 'मम हस्तपादौ कर्ण-  
नासे<sup>११</sup> च विकर्तितौ । स्वरुधिरकर्दम एवावस्थिता । इदानीं किमा-  
गतोऽसि । आह च<sup>१२</sup> ।

इदं यदा पङ्कजगर्भकोमलं महार्हवस्त्राभरणैर्विभूषितं ।

वभूव गात्रं मम दर्शनक्षमं तदा न दृष्टोऽसि मया<sup>१३</sup>ल्पभाग्यया ॥

एतर्हि किं द्रष्टुमिहागतोऽसि मे<sup>१४</sup> यदा शरीरं मम दर्शनाक्षमं ।

निवृत्तलीलारतिहर्षविस्मयं भयावहं शोणितपङ्कलेपनं<sup>१५</sup> ॥

उपगुप्त उवाच ।

नाहं भगिनि कामार्तः<sup>१६</sup> संनिधावागतस्तव ।

कामानामशुभानां<sup>१७</sup> तु स्वभावं द्रष्टुमागतः ॥

प्रच्छादिता वस्त्रविभूषणाद्यैर्वाह्यैर्विचित्रैर्मदनानुकूलैः ।

'निरीक्ष्यमाणापि हि यत्नवद्भिर्नाप्यत्र दृष्टा<sup>१८</sup>ऽसि भवेद्यथा च<sup>१९</sup> ॥

1-2Chl omits. 3MA °nāsā. Div. °nāsān. 4Chl *pracchādaya*. 5Div. °*bhikhitah*. 6MA adds: *hi*. 7MA & Div. °nāsau. 6-8Chl reads: "To-  
day, when I am in misfortune, when my body is mutilated, why  
do you come to see me?" 9MA *mamā*°. 10MA & Div. omit *me*.  
8-11Chl omits. 12Chl "in view of the things of passion". 13Chl  
omits *aśubhā*°. 14Div. *nirikṣa*°. 15MA *yatnavadbhir nā dṣṣ*°.  
16MA *tu*. Chl reads this and the following *śloka* as: "Those  
who are blinded by covetousness and desire, do not see your

इदं तु रूपं तव दृश्यमेतत् स्थितं स्वभावे रचनाद् वियुक्तं ।  
तेऽपण्डितास्ते च विगर्हणीया ये प्राकृतेऽस्मिन् कुणपे रमन्ते ॥  
त्वचावनद्धे रधिरावसक्ते चर्मावृते मांसघनावलिप्ते ।  
शिरासहस्रैश्च वृते समन्तात् को नाम रज्येत कुतः शरीरे ॥

अपि च भगिनि १ ।

वहिर्भद्राणि रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा बालोऽभिरज्यते ।  
अभ्यन्तरविदुष्टानि ज्ञात्वा धीरो विरज्यते ॥  
अवकृष्टाऽवकृष्टस्य कुणपस्य ह्यमेध्यता ।  
मेध्याः २ कामोपसंहाराः कामिनः शुभसंज्ञिनः ॥

३इह हि ।

दौर्गन्ध्यं प्रतिवार्यते बहुविधैर्गन्धैरमेध्याकरैः  
वैकृत्यं वहिराध्रियेत विविधैर्वस्त्रादिभिर्भूषणैः ।  
स्वेदक्लेदमलादयोऽप्यशुचयस्तान् निर्हरत्यम्भसा  
येनाऽमेध्यकरङ्गमेतदशुभं कामात्मभिः सेव्यते ४ ॥  
संबुद्धस्य तु ते वचः सुवचसः शृण्वन्ति कुर्वन्त्यपि  
ते कामान् श्रमशोकदुःखजननान् सद्भिः सदा गर्हितान् ५ ।  
त्यक्त्वा कामनिमित्तमुक्तमनसः शान्ते वने निर्गताः  
पारं यान्ति भवार्णवस्य महतः संश्रित्य मार्गप्लवं ६ ॥

true nature. Formerly, with your beauty, you seduced the world. Now you have returned to your true and original nature."

<sup>1</sup>Chl "A thin epidermis covers you; the blood wets the filth of the flesh; thousand nerves twist round each other; thousand tubes penetrate into the fat." <sup>2</sup>Chl omits. <sup>3</sup>Chl reads: "If the outside is seen, it seems beautiful. In inside it (the body) is full of impure things." <sup>4</sup>Div. °*dhyā*. Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>5-6</sup>Chl "On the outside, borrowed perfumes cover it with a mist. In the inside, it is full of impurities and fetid emanations, such as the sweat, tears, the fetid liquids by which it (the body) is made wet and wrapped." <sup>7-8</sup>MA erased. <sup>8</sup>Div. *kāmāt śraya*°. <sup>9</sup>Div. AB °*taṁ*, CD *tāṁ*. <sup>10</sup>Chl reads this *śloka* as: "So you can listen to the speeches of Buddha: Desire begets fear, sadness, anger. Ills originate by hundreds and thousands from lust and covetousness. Longings are censured by the Sage. If the impurities of desire are averted, Liberation is attained.

श्रुत्वा वासवदत्ता 'संसारादुद्विग्ना बुद्धगुणानुस्मरणाच्' चार्वाजित-  
हृदयोवाच ।

एवमेतत् तथा सर्वं यथा वदति 'पण्डितः ।

मे त्वां साधु समासाद्य बुद्धस्य' वचनं श्रुतं ॥

यावद् उपगुप्तेन वासवदत्ताया 'अनुपूर्विकां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि  
संप्रकाशितानि' । उपगुप्तश्च' वासवदत्तायाः शरीरस्वभावमवगम्य  
कामधातुवैराग्यं गतः । तेन आत्मीयया' धर्मदेशनया सह' सत्याभि-  
समयाद् अनागामिफलं' वासव'दत्तया च स्रोतापत्तिफलं प्राप्तं ।  
ततो वासवदत्ता दृष्टसत्या उपगुप्तं संरागयन्ती उवाच ।

तवानुभावात् पिहितः सुघोरो ह्यपायमार्गो बहुदोषयुक्तः ।

अपावृत्ता स्वर्ग'भक्तिः 'सुपुण्या निर्वाणमार्गश्च मयोपलब्धः' ॥

He who follows the correct way with eight sections (= *aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) attains to Nirvāṇa."

<sup>1</sup>Chl *trilokād.* <sup>2</sup>Chl *buddha-dharme.* <sup>3-4</sup>MA erased. <sup>5</sup>Chl "The true nature (of things) is such as you say and it complies with the Law proclaimed by the Sage; have pity on me and explain (the Law) to me." <sup>6</sup>MA *ānu*°. <sup>7</sup>Chl reads: "Then Upagupta explained to her, the Four Truths (which turn) the wheel of the Law; (i) the dogma of Suffering (*duḥkha*) which resemble the red hot iron, (ii) the dogma of Accumulation (of suffering=*samudāya*) which is like a poison tree, (iii) the dogma of Extinction (of suffering=*nirodha*) in suppressing the Obtuseness (*moha*) and the attachments, (iv) the Sacred Way (*mārga*) with Eight (sections) he explained to her in short. Besides (he showed to her) the ills resembling poison, ulcer, and abscess (which are): the ill of birth, the ill of old age, the ill of disease, the ill of death, the ill of separation from that one loves, the ill of union with that one dislikes, the ill of asking (for something) without getting (it), the ill of five abundant calamities, the ill of austerities, the ill of corruption. In summary, (he made her see) that whoever are born in the three worlds are all of them equally unhappy." <sup>8</sup>Chl adds: "contemplated on the courtesan." <sup>9-10</sup>Chl omits. <sup>11</sup>MA adds: *prāptam.* <sup>12-13</sup>MA erased. <sup>12-13</sup>Chl "Vāsavadattā, having heard the Law, saw the (four) Truth. Having obtained the sight of the Truth, she extolled Upagupta in these words: 'That's right indeed. You have closed to me the Three Evil Ways. You have opened to me the pleasing door which gives access to the Way to Nirvāṇa.'" <sup>14</sup>Div. *śra*°.

अपि च । एषाहं तं भगवन्तं तथागतम् अर्हन्तं सम्यक्-संबुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि । धर्मं च भिक्षुसङ्घं चेत्याह ।

‘एष ब्रजामि शरणं विबुद्धनवकमलविमलधवलनेत्रं ।

तममरबुधजनमहितं जिनं विरागं सङ्घं चेति’ ॥

यावद् उपगुप्तो वासवदत्ता धर्म्या कथया संदश्ये प्रकान्तः ।  
अचिरप्रकान्ते चोपगुप्ते वासवदत्ता कालगताः देवपूपपत्रा । देवतैश्च  
मथुरायामारोचितं । वासवदत्तया उपगुप्तसकाशाद् धर्मदेयनां श्रुत्वा  
‘आर्यसत्यानि दृष्टानि’ । साः कालगताः देवपूपपत्रेति । श्रुत्वा  
च मथुरावास्तव्येन जनकायेन वासवदत्तायाः ‘शरीरे पूजा कृता’ ।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकम्<sup>१०</sup> अभिगम्योवाच ।  
अनुजानीहि उपगुप्तं<sup>११</sup> प्रब्राजयिष्यामीति । गुप्तो गान्धिकं<sup>१२</sup> उवाच ।  
आर्य एष समयः । यदा न लाभो न छेदो भविष्यति तदाज्जुजास्या-  
मीति<sup>१३</sup> ।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासिना ऋद्ध्या तथाजघिष्ठितं यथा<sup>१४</sup> न  
लाभो न छेदः । ततो गुप्तो गान्धिको गणयति तुलयति मापयति ।  
पश्यति न लाभो न छेदः<sup>१५</sup> ।

ततः स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकम्<sup>१६</sup> उवाच । अयं हि<sup>१७</sup>  
भगवता बुद्धेन निर्दिष्टः, मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं  
करिष्यतीति । अनुजानीहि प्रब्राजयिष्यामीति ।

यावद् गुप्तेन गान्धिकेन<sup>१८</sup> अस्यनुजातः । ततः स्थविरेण शाणक-

1-2ChI omits 3-4MA erased. ChI omits. 5ChI adds: *trayastrimsad*.  
6ChI “A celestial spirit said to the people of Mathurā.” 7-8ChI  
*srotāpannā sañjātā*. 9MA & Div. omit. It is adopted from Ch.  
10-11ChI reads: “took her body and paid her all kinds of hom-  
age.” 12ChI omits. 13ChI adds: “that I may liberate him and ...”.  
14MA omits *iti*. ChI reads: “If without any interruption, I  
continue to realise the profits, I shall allow him *pravrajyā* (to  
leave the world).” 15-18ChI “that without interruption Gupta  
continued to realise the profits. Gupta everyday estimated his  
gains and saw (they were) constant; he did not like to allow  
separation (with Upagupta).” 17MA omits.

वासिनाः उपगुप्तो नटभटिकारण्यायतनं नीतं । उपसंपादितश्च ज्ञप्ति-  
चतुर्थं च कर्म व्यवसितं । उपगुप्तो न च सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद् अर्हत्त्वं  
साक्षात्कृतं ।

ततः स्थविरेण<sup>१</sup> शाणकवासिनाऽभिहितं । वत्स उपगुप्त त्वं  
भगवता निर्दिष्टो वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य मम उपगुप्तो नाम भिक्षुर्भ-  
विष्यति, अलक्षणको बुद्धः । यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं  
करिष्यतीति । एषोऽग्नौ मे आनन्द श्रावकाणामववादकानां<sup>२</sup> यदुतो-  
पगुप्तो भिक्षुः । इदानीं वत्स शासनहितं<sup>३</sup> कुरुष्वेति । उपगुप्त  
उवाच । एवमस्त्विति ।

ततः 'स धर्मश्रवणेऽधीष्टः'<sup>४</sup> । मथुरायां च शब्दो विसृतः<sup>५</sup> ।  
उपगुप्तो नामाऽलक्षणको बुद्धोऽद्य<sup>६</sup> धर्मं देशयिष्यतीति । श्रुत्वा  
ज्ञानेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि निर्गतानि<sup>७</sup> ।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः समापद्याऽवलोकयति । कथं तथा-  
तस्य परिषन् निषण्णा<sup>८</sup> । पश्यति चार्धचन्द्रिकाऽकारेण पर्षद्  
अवस्थिता । यावद् अवलोकयति कथं तथागतेन धर्मदेशना कृता ।  
पश्यति<sup>९</sup> पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशना कृता । सोऽपि  
पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशनां कर्तुमारब्धः<sup>१०</sup> ।

मारेण च<sup>११</sup> तस्यां पर्षदि मुक्ताहारवर्षमुत्सृष्टं<sup>१२</sup> । वैनैयानां  
मनांसि व्याकुलीकृतानि<sup>१३</sup> । एकेनापि सत्यदर्शनं न कृतं ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२</sup>Chl "who teaches to sit in *dhyāna*," for *avavādaka*. <sup>३</sup>Chl *buddhakāryam*. <sup>४</sup>MA *sarva*. <sup>५</sup>MA *śravaṇe' dhī*. (Div. *adhīṣṭa*). <sup>६-७</sup>Chl "Upagupta wished to preach the Law extensively in the kingdom of Mathurā." <sup>८-९</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१०</sup>Chl adds: "And they assembled like a host." <sup>११</sup>Div. *ṛṇāḥ*. <sup>१२</sup>MA *'bdhaḥ kartum*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl "(And he saw) that previously Buddha explained the *śāstra* of *dāna*, the *śāstra* of Defences and the *śāstra* of the birth among the *devas*. (He showed) that desire produces impurities and that *pravrajyā* is essential. And following the permanent rule of Buddhas, he showed the Four Holy Truths. Upagupta too, like Buddhas who had successively preached the Law, wished to show the Four Truths." <sup>१५</sup>MA omits. <sup>१६</sup>Chl "showered genuine pearls and other precious things." <sup>१७</sup>Div. *ḥṛtā*.



यावत् स्यविरोपगुप्तो व्यवलोकयति । केनाज्यं व्याक्षेपः कृतः ।  
पश्यति मारेण ।

यावद् द्वितीये दिवसे बहुतरको जनकायो निर्गतः । उपगुप्तो  
धर्मं देशयति । मुक्ताहारं च वर्षोपवर्षितमिति<sup>१</sup> । यावद् द्वितीयेऽपि  
दिवसे स्यविरोपगुप्तेन<sup>२</sup> पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाश-  
नायामारव्यायां मारेण चास्य<sup>३</sup> पर्षदि सुवर्णवर्षमुत्सृष्टं<sup>४</sup> । वैनेयानां  
मनांसि संक्षोभितानि । एकेनापि सत्यदर्शनं न कृतं ।

यावत् स्यविरोपगुप्तो व्यवलोकयति, केनाज्यं व्याक्षेपः कृतः ।  
पश्यति मारेण पापीयसेति ।

यावत् तृतीये दिवसे बहुतरको जनकायो निर्गतः<sup>५</sup> । उपगुप्तो  
धर्मं देशयति<sup>६</sup> । मुक्तावर्षं सुवर्णवर्षं च पततीति<sup>७</sup> । यावत् तृतीये-  
ऽपि दिवसे स्यविरोपगुप्तः पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि  
आरब्धः संप्रकाशयितुं<sup>८</sup> । मारेण च नातिदूरे नाटकमारब्धं ।  
दिव्यानि च वाद्यानि संप्रवादितानि । दिव्याश्चाप्स<sup>९</sup>रसो नाटयितुं  
प्रवृत्ताः । यावद् वीतरागो जनकायो<sup>१०</sup> दिव्यानि रूपाणि वृष्ट्वा  
दिव्यांश्च शब्दान् श्रुत्वा मारेणाकृष्टः ।

अतो मारेणोपगुप्तस्य पर्षद् आकृष्टा<sup>११</sup> । प्रीतमनसा मारेण

1-2Chl "On the following day, without being invited, numerous people who came to know that while Upagupta preached the Law, there were showers of genuine pearls and precious things, wished to come to rake them. For this reason the crowd became great." 2MA reads: *muktāhārā ca varṣā ca varṣoḥpa*. 3-5Chl "When (Upagupta) preached the Law, gold and precious things were showered again." 4Div. *cāsyām*. 6MA omits. 7Chl adds: "having entered into ecstasy". 8MA *yenāyam*. 9-10MA erased. 10-11Chl "On the third day the people of the kingdom of Mathurā all came and assembled like a host to hear Upagupta preach the Law." 12Chl "At first, genuine pearls were showered; the second time, gold and precious things." 13-14Chl omits. 15MA *nātyām*. 16Div. *bdho dityāni*. 17-18MA erased. 14-19Chl reads: "Māra the king caused to appear the celestial girls (*apsaras*) who with their exquisitely skilful music seduced and agitated the minds of the people. Those who till then had not attained the Way were all

स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शिरसि माला वद्धा<sup>१</sup> । यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः  
 'समन्वाहरितुमारब्धः<sup>२</sup> । कोऽयं । पश्यति मारः । तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना ।  
 अयं मारो 'भगवच्छासने महान्तं व्याक्षेपं करोति<sup>३</sup> । किमर्थमयं  
 भगवता न विनीतः । पश्यति ममायं विनेयः । तस्य च विनयात्  
 सत्त्वानु<sup>४</sup>ग्रहादहं भगवता अलक्षणको बुद्धो निर्दिष्टः<sup>५</sup> ।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः समन्वाहरति । किमस्य विनेयकाल  
 उपस्थित आहोस्विन् नेति । पश्यति विनेयकाल उपस्थितः । ततः  
 स्थविरोपगुप्तेन 'त्रयः कुणपा गृहीताः । अहिकुणपं कुर्कुरकुणपं  
 मनुष्यकुणपं च । ऋद्ध्या च पुष्पमालामभिनिर्माय मारसकाश-  
 मभिगतः । दृष्ट्वा च मारस्य प्रीतिरुत्पन्ना । 'उपगुप्तोऽपि मयाऽ-  
 कृष्ट इति<sup>६</sup> ।

ततो मारेण स्वशरीरमुपनामितं । स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्वयमेव  
 वव्नाति । ततः स्थविरेणोपगुप्तेन<sup>७</sup> अहिकुणपं मारस्य शिरसि  
 वद्धं<sup>८</sup> । 'कुर्कुरकुणपं श्रीवायां कर्णावसक्तं मनुष्यकुणपं च । 'ततः  
 समालम्ब्योवाच<sup>९</sup> ।

भिक्षुजनप्रतिकूला माला वद्धा<sup>१०</sup> यथैव मे भवता<sup>११</sup> ।

कामिजन<sup>१२</sup>-प्रतिकूलं तव कुणपमिदं<sup>१३</sup> मया वद्धं ॥

seduced by that celestial music; so much so that none attained the Way."

<sup>१</sup>Chl *aliva pritamanaṣā māreṇa uktam*: "I can reduce to nothing the prediction regarding Upagupta." <sup>२</sup>Chl adds: *vykṣamūle āsinaḥ*. <sup>३</sup>Chl adds: "By whom was it done? Then Māra made a garland with the flowers of *mandāra* and put it around the neck of Upagupta. The Venerable contemplated."

<sup>४-६</sup>Chl "Māra repeatedly disturbed and hindered my prediction (*i.e.* prediction of Buddha regarding me)." <sup>४-६</sup>MA erased. <sup>७</sup>Chl reads this sentence as: "and for this reason Buddha had not subdued him." <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl "He said, 'Upagupta does not consider himself master before me.'" <sup>८-११</sup>MA omits. <sup>१०-१२</sup>Chl "Māra bent his head and received the flower-garland. Upagupta bound the three dead bodies (*kuṇapa*) around Māra's neck." <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl reads: "Seeing the three corpses around his neck, Māra said: 'How is it possible that these corpses are bound around my neck?' The Venerable said..." <sup>१४</sup>MA illegible. <sup>१५</sup>MA omits. <sup>१६</sup>MA *bhagavatā*. <sup>१७</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१८</sup>Chl "these corpses".

यत् ते बलं भवति तत् प्रतिदर्शयस्व  
 बुद्धात्मजेन हि सहाद्य<sup>१</sup> समागतोऽसि ।  
 उद्धृतमप्यनिलभिन्नतरङ्गवक्त्रं<sup>२</sup>  
<sup>३</sup>व्यावर्तते मलयकुक्षिपु सागराम्भः ॥

अथ मारस्तं कुणपमपनेतुमारद्वयः । परमपि च स्वयमनुप्रविश्य<sup>४</sup>  
 पिपीलिक इव अद्रिराजमपनेतुं<sup>५</sup> 'न शशाक' । सामर्षो वैहायसमुत्पत्य  
 उवाच ।

यदि मोक्तुं न शक्यामि कण्ठात्<sup>६</sup> स्वकुणपं<sup>७</sup> स्वयं ।  
 अन्ये देवा हि<sup>८</sup> मोक्ष्यन्ते मत्तोऽस्यविकतेजसः ॥

स्थविर उवाच ।

ब्रह्माणं ब्रज<sup>९</sup> शरणं शतत्रतुं वा  
 दीप्तं वा प्रविश हुताशमर्णवं वा ।  
 न क्लेदं न च परिशोपणं न भेदं  
 कण्ठस्थं कुणपमिदं तु यास्यतीह<sup>१०</sup> ॥

स महेन्द्रद्रोपेन्द्रविणेश्वरयमवरुणकुबेरवसत्रादीनां<sup>११</sup> देवाना-  
 मभिगम्य अकृतार्थ एव ब्रह्माणमभिगतः<sup>१२</sup> ।  
 तेन चोक्तं<sup>१३</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>MA *samā*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>२</sup>Chl omits this line. <sup>३</sup>Chl adds *yathā*. <sup>४</sup>Chl *tathā*. <sup>५-६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>७</sup>Div. *°nayitum*. <sup>८</sup>Chl *aicchat*. <sup>९</sup>Div. *asamartho . . . utpadya*. MA *sāmartho*. Ch reading is adopted here. <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>११</sup>MA & Div. *api*. Chl reads this line as: "My gods have enough strength to remove this." <sup>१२</sup>Div. & MA omit. <sup>१३</sup>Chl reads: "You turn towards Brahmā or towards Śakra *devānām indra*, or *deva Vaiśra- maṇa* or *Maheśvara* or *deva Varuṇa*; even entering into a big fire, you will not be able to consume it, even entering the ocean, you will not be able to dissolve it. If these *devas* and the rest want to loose your bonds, they will not succeed." <sup>१४</sup>MA & Div. *vāsavā*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>१५</sup>Chl reads this as: "Thereupon, Māra, the king, without taking into consideration the words of the Venerable, appeared immediately before these gods to entreat them to loose his bonds; but these *devas* as well as the rest all told him, 'We cannot.' And so on. So that he arrived before Brahmā, joined his hands and said: 'Remove it in my favour.'" <sup>१६</sup>MA & Div. *°ktaḥ*.

मर्षय वत्स ।

शिष्येण दशबलस्य स्वयमृद्ध्या कृतान्तमर्यादा ।

कस्तां भेतुं शक्तो वेलां वरुणालयस्येव ॥

अपि पद्मनालसूत्रैर्बद्ध्वा हिमवन्तमुद्धरेत् क्वचित् ।

न तु तव कण्ठासन्नतं श्वकुणपमिदमुद्धरेयमहं ॥

कामं ममापि महदस्ति वलं तथापि नाहं तथागतसुतस्य बलेन तुल्यः ।

तेजस्विनां न खलु न ज्वलनेऽस्ति किन्तु नासौ द्युतिर्हुतवहे रविमण्डले या ॥

मारोऽब्रवीत् । किमिदानीमाज्ञापयसि । कं शरणं ब्रजामीति ।

ब्रह्माऽब्रवीत् ।

शीघ्रं तमेव शरणं ब्रज यं समेत्य भ्रष्टस्त्वमृद्धिविभवाद् यशसः सुखाच्च ।

भ्रष्टो हि यः क्षितितले भवतीह जन्तुरुत्तिष्ठति क्षितिमसावबलम्व्य भूयः ॥

अथ मारस्तथागतशिष्यसामर्थ्यमुपलभ्य चिन्तयामास ।

ब्रह्मणा पूज्यते यस्य शिष्याणामपि शासनं ।

तस्य बुद्धस्य सामर्थ्यं प्रमातुं को नु शक्नुयात् ॥

कर्तुकामोऽभविष्यत् कां शिष्टि क्षमो न सुव्रतः ॥

यां नाऽकरिष्यत् क्षान्त्या तु तेनाहमनुरक्षितः ॥

किं बहना ।

अद्यावैमि मुनेर्महाकरुणतां तस्यातिमैत्रात्मनः

सर्वोपद्रवविप्रमुक्तमनसश्चामीकराद्रिद्युतिः ।

<sup>1</sup>Div. & MA *vatsā*. <sup>2</sup>Div. *kaścit*. <sup>1-2</sup>Chl reads these *ślokas* as follows: "That which the disciple of Bhagavān *daśabala* has done, I myself whose power is very little can never undo. This is like the *velā* (Ch *lit. p'i-lan*); a violent wind cannot blow it away. Rather hang the Sumeru with a fibre of lotus than wish to untie this tie." <sup>3</sup>Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>3-4</sup>Chl "Māra said to Brahmā, the king (of gods): 'if you cannot liberate me...'" <sup>5</sup>Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Quickly resort to Upagupta; then only you will be able to attain deliverance. If the earth made you fall, resort to the earth to raise you again. If you do not take him as your support, he will destroy all your pleasures which you taste in heaven. He will destroy all your great and noted delights." <sup>6</sup>Div. reads: A *samanumasurva*<sup>o</sup>, D *samam anusurvat*<sup>o</sup>. MA *sa mania su*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>7</sup>Div. *yannākārsyankṣāntyānu* (C<sup>o</sup>*kārsyat*, D... <sup>o</sup>*tu*).

मोहान्धेन हि तत्र तत्र स मया तैस्तैर्नयैः खेदितः  
तेनाहं च तथापि नाम वलिना नैवाप्रियं श्रावितः<sup>१</sup> ॥

अथ कामघातवधिपतिर्मारी नास्त्यन्या गतिर् अन्यत्र उपगुप्तका-  
देवेति ज्ञात्वा सर्वमुत्सृज्य<sup>२</sup> स्थविरोपगुप्तसमीपमुपेत्य<sup>३</sup> पादयोर्निपत्यो-  
वाच<sup>४</sup> । भदन्त किमविदितमेतद् भदन्तस्य यथा बोधिमूलमुपादाय<sup>५</sup>  
मया भगवतो विप्रियशतानि कृतानि । कुतः<sup>६</sup> ।

‘शालायां ब्राह्मणग्रामे मामासाच्च स गौतमः ।

भक्तच्छेदमपि प्राप्य नाकार्षीन् मम विप्रियं<sup>७</sup> ॥

गौर्भूत्वा सर्पवत् स्थित्वा कृत्वा<sup>८</sup> शाकटिकाकृतिं ।

स मयाऽयासितो नाथो न चाहं तेन हिंसितः ॥

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 continues: “Māra, having seen that a disciple of Tathāgata is more powerful than Brahmā, the king of *devas*, expressed his respect in the following terms: ‘Who could measure the power of Buddha? If He wanted to vent His anger on me, what could He not do? It was His pity that the Great Compassionate One did not vent His anger on me. It is only today that I know Tathāgata, the Great, Perfect, Compassionate One, the Great Fulfilled Benevolent One, who has attained the true deliverance. The ignorance blinded me. In all the places, I molested Him. Nevertheless, the Benevolent Buddha, the Compassionate and the Righteous One, never addressed me harsh words.’” <sup>२</sup>Ch1 reads: “Having received the advice of Brahmā, the king (Māra) was soon freed from evil and prideful thoughts.” <sup>३</sup>Ch1 “touched the ground with five parts of his body. Having prostrated himself with the two knees, he joined the hands and said to the Venerable...” <sup>४</sup>Ch1 “from the time he was under the Bodhi tree till the time of his Nirvāṇa”. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 adds: “The Venerable asked: ‘What did you do?’ He replied..” <sup>६</sup>Ch1 omits *śālā*. Ch2 reads: “in the kingdom of *so lo*”. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 reads: “Formerly, when Buddha was begging food in the village of Brāhmaṇas, I blinded the spirit of the multitude and he got nothing to eat; and so he recited this *gāthā*: ‘Those who rejoice without resources have the body peaceable, light and alert. If with regard to food and drink, one is capable of conceiving no covetous thought then the spirit does not cease to be joyful, like the *ābhāsvara devas* (gods).’” Ch2 omits this *gāthā*. <sup>८</sup>MA omits it. Ch1 reads this *śloka* as: “Moreover in the Ṛḍhrakūṭa mountain, I took the form of a big bull which destroyed the *pātras* (bowls) of five hundred Bhikṣus; only the *pātra* of Buddha had flown to

त्वया पुनरहं वीर त्यक्त्वा हि<sup>१</sup> सहजां दयां ।

सदेवासुरमध्येषु लोकेष्वद्य विडम्बितः ॥

स्थविरोऽब्रवीत् । पापीयान् कथमपरीक्ष्यैव तथागतमाहात्म्येषु  
श्रावकमुपसंहरसि ।

किं सर्पेण समतां नयसीह मेरुं

खद्योतकेन रविमञ्जलिना<sup>३</sup> समुद्रं ।

अन्या हि सा दशवलस्य कृपा प्रजासु

न श्रावकस्य हि महाकरुणास्ति सौम्य<sup>४</sup> ॥

अपि च ।

यदर्थं हि<sup>५</sup> भगवता सापराधोऽपि मर्षितः ।

इदं तत् कारणं साक्षाद् अस्माभिरुपलक्षितं ॥

मार उवाच ।

ब्रूहि ब्रूहि श्रीमतस्तस्य भावं

सङ्गं छेत्तुं क्षान्तिगुप्तव्रतस्य ।

यौऽसौ भोहान्नित्यमायासितो मे

तेनाहं च प्रेक्षितो<sup>६</sup> मैत्रचित्तैः<sup>७</sup> ॥

the sky. Besides, at another time, I took the form of a dragon (*nāga, sarpa*) and for seven days and nights, I enclosed in my coils the body of Buddha. When Buddha lay down (before) Nirvāṇa, I made appear five hundred carts which troubled and polluted the water of the river in such a way, that Buddha could not drink it. In brief, I went so far as to molest him in hundred ways. The Tathāgata extended his benevolence and compassion so far as not to show even (a sign of) contempt or hurt me even with a harsh word."

<sup>१</sup>MA & Div. omit. ChI reads this line as: "You an Arhat have neither pity nor patience as...". <sup>२</sup>MA & Div. *raviṃ maṇḍa*°. ChI "lustre of the sun and moon". <sup>३</sup>ChI "with a drop of water".

<sup>४</sup>ChI reads this line as: "The Śrāvakas have not got a share of the great mercy of Tathāgata. Buddha is the great Merciful One, and that is why he did not punish you. The Śrāvakas are inferior to Buddha; that is why I punish you." <sup>५</sup>MA & Div. omit *hi*. ChI omits this *śloka*. <sup>६</sup>MA erased. <sup>७</sup>Div. *maitreya*. ChI reads: "In return of vexation that I caused him when he was the Ṛṣi *kṣānti-rāḍin* up to the time when he became Buddha, why is it that he always showed me mercy without causing me any injuries?"

स्थविर उवाच<sup>१</sup> । शृणु सौम्य त्वं हि<sup>२</sup> भगवत्यसकृदसकृदव-  
स्खलितः । न च बुद्धावरोपितानामकुरालानां घर्माणामन्यत् प्रक्षालन-  
मन्यत्र तथागतप्रसादादेव ।

तदेतत् कारणं तेन पश्यता दीर्घदर्शिना ।

त्वं नाऽप्रियमिह प्रोक्तः<sup>३</sup> प्रियाण्येव तु लम्बितः<sup>४</sup> ॥

‘न्यायेनानेन भक्तिस्तव हृदि जनिता तेनाग्रमतिना  
स्वल्पापि ह्यत्र भक्तिर्भवति मतिमतां निर्वाणफलदा ।

संक्षेपाद् यत् कृतं ते वृजिनमिह मुनेर्मोहान्धमनसा

सर्वं प्रक्षालितं तत् तवहृदयगतैः श्रद्धाम्बुविसरैः ॥

अथ मारः कदम्बपुष्पवद्<sup>५</sup> आहृष्टरोनकूपः सर्वाङ्गेण प्रणिप-  
त्योवाच ।

स्थाने मया बहुविधं परिखेदितोऽसौ

प्राक् सिद्धितरुच भुवि सिद्धिमनोरयेन ।

सर्वं च मर्षितमृषिप्रवरेण तेन

पुत्रापरार्थ इव सानुनयेन<sup>६</sup> पित्रा ॥

<sup>१</sup>Div. & MA omit it. <sup>२</sup>MA omits it. <sup>३-४</sup>MA erased. <sup>१-४</sup>Chl reads: "On account of your wickedness, you have grown evil intentions towards Buddha. Though the crimes were heaped up, Buddha did not cause you any harm. Why ? Because He wished to allow me to subdue you, so that you may obtain the feelings of faith and respect towards Buddha; and on account of these feelings, you may not fall into the hell, or among famished animals, or (be born ?) among domestic animals. These are the reasons for which, at the outset, he did not address you wounding words and for that he had unceasingly nourished for you the feelings of compassion." <sup>५-६</sup>MA erased. <sup>६</sup>Div. AD *vrjiamam* and B *vrjamam*. <sup>७</sup>Div. °*daye*°. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "In brief, if you experience a little faith in Buddha, then by this sentiment of faith, you shall be purified from innumerable crimes of molesting Buddha of which from the ancient time to the present (you are guilty). All these crimes shall be extinct." <sup>८</sup>Ch2 reads according to the text. <sup>९</sup>Chl reads: "When Māra heard these words, he was agitated both in body and spirit. Resembling a flowered *kadamba* tree, which (thrills) from the roots and trunk to the branches, Māra, the king (of demons) rejoiced and on his whole body, he had the hair erect; he said . . ." <sup>९-१०</sup>MA erased. <sup>१०</sup>Chl translates these two *ślokas* in accordance with the text, though

स बुद्धप्रसादाप्यायितमनाः सुचिरं बुद्धगुणाननुस्मृत्य स्थविरस्य  
पादयोर्निपत्योवाच<sup>१</sup> ।

अनुग्रहो मेऽद्य<sup>२</sup> परः कृतस्त्वया निवेशितं यन् मयि बुद्धगौरवं ।  
इदं तु कण्ठव्यवलम्बि मैत्र्या महर्षिकोपाभरणं विसर्जय ॥

स्थविर उवाच । समयतो विमो<sup>३</sup>क्ष्यामीति । मार<sup>४</sup> उवाच । कः  
सःमय इति<sup>५</sup> । स्थविर उवाच<sup>६</sup> । अद्यप्रभृति<sup>७</sup> भिक्षवो न विहेठयितव्या  
इति । मारोऽज्जवीत् । न विहेठयिष्ये । किमपरमाज्ञापयसीति ।  
स्थविर उवाच । एवं तावच्छासनकार्यं प्रति ममाज्ञा<sup>१०</sup> । स्वकार्यं  
प्रति विज्ञापयिष्यामि भवन्तं । मारः ससम्भ्रम उवाच । प्रसीद  
स्थविर किमाज्ञापयसीति । स्थविरोऽज्जवीत् । स्वयमवगच्छसि यदहं  
वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृते भगवति प्रव्रजितः । तद्<sup>११</sup>

धर्मकायो मया तस्य दृष्टस्त्रैलोक्यनाथस्य ।

क्राञ्चनाद्रिनिभस्तस्य न दृष्टो रूपकायो मे<sup>१२</sup> ॥

तदनुपममनुग्रहं प्रति<sup>१३</sup> त्वमिह विदर्शय बुद्धविग्रहं ।

प्रियमधिकमतो हि नास्ति मे दशवलरूपकुतूहलो ह्यहं ॥ .

मार उवाच । तेन हि ममापि समयः श्रूयतां ।

सहसा त्वमिहोद्दीक्ष्य बुद्धनेपथ्यवारिणं ।

न प्रणामस्त्वया कार्यः सर्वज्ञगुणगौरवात् ॥

not literally.

<sup>1</sup>Chl "Māra, the king, experienced a feeling of joy regarding Buddha and the Dharma. He got up, joined his hands and said to the Venerable . . ." <sup>2</sup>MA omits *dya*. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "You have been able to make me experience a feeling of joy (regarding Buddha and the Dharma). This is a great kindness of yours. Now you ought to rid me of these three corpses." <sup>3-5</sup>MA crased. <sup>4-6</sup>Chl omits. <sup>7</sup>Chl omits this sentence. <sup>8</sup>Chl "from today till the extinction of the Law". <sup>9</sup>Div. *kam*<sup>o</sup>. Chl omits this sentence. <sup>10</sup>Chl omits this sentence. <sup>11</sup>Div. adds *tato*. <sup>12</sup>Div. *svayam eva ara*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>11-13</sup>Chl omits. <sup>14</sup>Chl "I have not seen the marvellously beautiful body of Tathāgata." <sup>15</sup>Div. & MA *tad anadyam anugrahāṃ prati*<sup>o</sup>. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Let the beautiful body of Buddha appear before me, in a way that I experience a feeling of love and respect. If you can make it, for this, your fame will be extremely great." <sup>16</sup>Chl omits.



महाकाश्यपानिरुद्धसुभूतिप्रभृतीनां च महाश्रावकाणां रूपाण्यभिनिर्माय  
 अर्धत्रयोदशभिर्भिक्षुशतैरर्धचन्द्रेणाऽनुपरिवृतं बुद्धवेशमादर्शयित्वा मारः  
 स्यविरोपगुप्तस्यान्तिकमाजगाम । स्यविरोपगुप्तस्य च भगवतो रूप-  
 मिदमीदृशमिति प्रामोद्यमुत्पन्नं ।

स प्रमुदितमनास्त्वरितमासनादुत्थाय निरीक्षमाण उवाच ।

धिगस्तु तां निष्करुणाऽनित्यतां  
 भिनत्ति रूपाणि यदीदृशान्यपि ।  
 शरीरमीदृक् किल तन्महामुनेर्  
 अनित्यतां प्राप्य विनाशमागतं ॥

स बुद्धावलम्बितया स्मृत्या तथाप्यासक्तमनाः संवृत्तो यथा बुद्धं  
 भगवन्तमहं पश्यामीति व्यक्तमुपागतः । स पद्ममुकुलप्रतिममञ्जलिं  
 कृत्वोवाच । 'अहो रूपशोभा' भगवतः । 'किं बहुना' ।

वक्त्रेणाभिभवत्ययं हि कमलं नीलोत्पलं चक्षुषा  
 कान्त्या पुष्पवनं मनः प्रियतया चन्द्रं समाप्तद्युतिं ।  
 गाम्भीर्येण महोर्दधि स्थिरतया मेरुं रविं तेजसा  
 गत्या सिंहमवेक्षितेन वृषभं वर्णेन चामीकरं ॥

स भूयसा मात्रया हर्षेणापूर्यमाणं हृदयो व्यापिना स्वरेणोवाच ।  
 अहो भावविशुद्धानां कर्मणां मधुरं फलं ।  
 कर्मणेदं कृतं रूपं नैश्वर्येण यदृच्छया ॥

1-2ChI "Surrounded and escorted by 1250 great Arhats." MA erased. 3ChI omits this sentence. 4ChI reads: "At that moment the Venerable got up, joined his hands, entered into contemplation and pronounced this *gāthā*:" 5-6MA erased. 7Div. *mbanatayā*. 8-10MA erased. 11-12MA erased. 13-14ChI "Extremely moved in body and spirit, he joined his hands and recited these *gāthās*." It reads "*aho bhāva*" before "*vaktreṇābhi*". 15ChI "brilliant jewel". 16Div. *ghanam*. MA omits. ChI reads this line as: "He is more perfect than the sun and the moon. He is more amiable than the flowered forest." 17-18MA erased. 19ChI "He lives in peace like the Sumera." 20Div. ABD *hrdayā*. 21-22ChI omits this sentence. 23-24MA erased. 25-26ChI "This is not the supreme God (*īśvara*) who has made it. Neither without cause has it been made (*neivareṇa na zadṛcchayā*)."

सिंह इव यस्तु निर्भीनिनदति<sup>१</sup> परवादिदर्पनाशार्थं ।

सिंहासनमभिरोढुं स कथिकसिंहो भवति योग्यः<sup>२</sup> ॥

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तेन पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि संप्रकाशितानि<sup>३</sup> । श्रुत्वा चानेकैः प्राणिशतसहस्रैर् 'मोक्षभागीयानि कुशलमूलान्याक्षिप्तानि । कैश्चिदनागामिफलं प्राप्तं<sup>४</sup> । कैश्चित् सकृदागामिफलं । कैश्चिच् छ्रोतापत्तिफलं<sup>५</sup> । यावदष्टादशसहस्राणि प्रव्रजितानि । सर्वैश्च श्रुज्यमानैर्यावदर्हत्त्वं प्राप्तं ।

तत्र चोरमुण्डपर्वते गुहाऽष्टादशहस्ता<sup>६</sup> दीर्घेण द्वादशहस्ता<sup>७</sup> विस्तरेण । यदा ते कृतकरणीयाः संवृत्तास्तदा स्थविरोपगुप्तेनाभिहितं । यो मदीयेनाववादेन सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद्<sup>८</sup> अर्हत्त्वं साक्षात्करिष्यति तेन चतुरङ्गलमात्रा शलाका गुहायां प्रक्षेप्तव्या ।

यावदेकस्मिन् दिवसे<sup>९</sup>ष्टादशभिरर्हत्सहस्रैः शलाकाः प्रक्षिप्ताः । तस्य यावदासमुद्रायां शब्दो विसृतः<sup>१०</sup> । मथुरायामुपगुप्तनामा 'अववादकानामग्नो निर्दिष्टो भगवता । तद्यथा<sup>११</sup> हि ।

विनीतकामधात्वीश्वरे द्वितीयशास्तृकल्पे महात्मनि स्थविरोपगुप्ते सुरमनुजमहोरगासुरगरुडयक्षगन्धर्वविद्याधरार्चितपादयुग्मे [सति] पूर्ववृद्धक्षेत्रावरोपितकुशलबीजसन्ततीनाम्<sup>१२</sup> अनेकेषां सत्त्वशतसहस्राणां सद्धर्मसलिलवर्षधारानिपाता<sup>१३</sup> मोक्षाङ्कुरान् अभ्यवर्धयन्नुमुण्डे शैले ।

कार्यानुरोधात् प्रणतसकलसामन्तचूडामणिमयूखोद्भासितपादपीठस्याशोकस्य राज्ञः पूर्वं पांशुप्रदानं समनुस्मरिष्यामः । इत्येवमनुश्रूयते ।

<sup>१</sup>Div. °bhininadati. <sup>२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>३-४</sup>Chl "preached in all the ways, the excellent Law, so that...". <sup>५-६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>७</sup>Chl adds *prāptam*. <sup>८</sup>Chl omits this word. <sup>९</sup>Ch2 agrees with the text. Chl gives the measurement as before: "36 feet long and 24 feet broad". <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>११</sup>Chl *māse*. Div. *daśabhi*<sup>१०</sup> for *aṣṭādaśa*<sup>१०</sup>. <sup>१२</sup>Chl *evam tasya jambudvīpe yaśo*<sup>१०</sup>. <sup>१३</sup>Chl translates *avavādaka* as "one who teaches how to sit in meditation (*dhyāna*)."<sup>१४</sup>Chl omits. Div. *bhagavato tad*<sup>१५</sup>. <sup>१५</sup>A *sammitānām*, B *saṁtīnām*, C *saṁgītānām*, D *saṁtānām*, E *saṁtītānām*. <sup>१६</sup>Div. °*nīpātena* . . . *abhivar*<sup>१६</sup>. Chl omits this para and the following one.

## पांशुप्रदानं नाम प्रकरणं

भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति वेणुवने कलन्दकनिवापे । अथ भगवान् पूर्वार्द्धे निवास्य पात्रचीवरमादाय<sup>१</sup> भिक्षुगणपरिवृतो भिक्षु-सङ्घपुरस्कृतो राजगृहं पिण्डाय प्राविक्षत् । वक्ष्यति च ।

कनकाचलसन्निभाग्रदेहो<sup>२</sup> द्विरदेन्द्रप्रतिमः सलीलगामी<sup>३</sup> ।

परिपूर्णशशाङ्कसौम्यवक्त्रो<sup>४</sup> भगवान् भिक्षुगणैर्वृतो जगाम<sup>५</sup> ॥

यावद् भगवता साभिसंस्कारं<sup>६</sup> नगरद्वारे<sup>७</sup> पादं प्रतिष्ठापितं । घर्मता<sup>८</sup> खलु यस्मिन् समये बुद्धा भगवन्तः साभिसंस्कारं नगरद्वार-मिन्द्रकीले पादौ व्यवस्थापयन्ति । तदा चित्राणि अद्भुतानि प्रादुर्भ-वन्ति । अन्वाश्चक्षूपि प्रतिलभन्ते । वविराः श्रोत्रग्रहणसमर्था भवन्ति । पङ्क्तवो गमनसमर्था भवन्ति । <sup>९</sup>हडिनिगडचारकाववद्धानां सत्त्वानां वन्वनानि शिथिलीभवन्ति । जन्मजन्मवैरानुबद्धाः सत्त्वास्तदनन्तरं मैत्रचित्तां लभन्ते । वत्सा दामानि छित्त्वा मातृभिः सार्धं समा-गच्छन्ति । हस्तिनः क्रोशन्ति । अश्वा ह्येपन्ते । ऋषभा गर्जन्ति । शुक्रशारिककोकिलजीवजीवकवर्हिणो मधुरान् निकूजन्ति । पेडागत-लङ्कारा मधुरशब्दं निश्चारयन्ति । अपराहतानि च वादित्रभाण्डानि मधुरं शब्दं निश्चारयन्ति । उन्नतोन्नता पृथिवीप्रदेशा<sup>१०</sup> अवनमन्ति । अवनताश्चोन्नमन्ति<sup>११</sup> । अपगतपापाणशर्करकपालाश्चावतिष्ठन्ते<sup>१२</sup> ।

इयं च तस्मिन् समये पृथिवी पङ्क्विकारं<sup>१३</sup> प्रकम्प्यते । <sup>१४</sup>तद्यथा पूर्वो दिग्भाग उन्नमति । पश्चिमोऽवनमति । अन्तोऽवनमति । मध्य

उन्नमति । चलितः प्रचलितो वेधितः प्रवेधित इतीमे चान्ये चाद्भुत-  
धर्माः प्रादुर्भवन्ति । भगवतो नगरप्रवेशे वक्ष्यति<sup>१</sup> ।

लवणजलनिवासिनी ततो वा नगरनिगममण्डिता सशैला<sup>२</sup> ।  
मुनिचरणनिपीडिता च भूमी<sup>३</sup> पवनवलहतं हि यानपात्रं<sup>४</sup> ॥

अथ बुद्धप्रवेशकालनियतैः प्रातिहार्यैरावर्जिताः स्त्रीमनुष्यास्<sup>५</sup>,  
तन्नगरम् अनिलवलचलितभिन्नवीचितरङ्गक्षुभितमिव महासमुद्रं  
‘विमुक्तोच्चनादं वभूव’<sup>६</sup> । न हि बुद्धप्रवेशतुल्यं नाम जगत्यद्भुतमुप-  
लभ्यते<sup>७</sup> । पुरप्रवेशसमये हि भगवतश्<sup>८</sup> चित्राण्यद्भुतानि दृश्यन्ते ।  
वक्ष्यति हि<sup>९</sup> ।

निम्ना चोन्नमते नतावनमते बुद्धानुभावान् मही  
स्थूणा<sup>१०</sup> शर्करकण्टकव्यपगता निर्दोषतां याति च ।  
अन्धा मूकजडेन्द्रियाश्च पुरुषा व्यक्तेन्द्रियास्तत्क्षणं  
संवाद्यन्त्यनिघट्टिताश्च नगरे नन्दन्ति तूर्यस्वनाः<sup>११</sup> ॥

सर्वं च तन्नगरं<sup>१२</sup> सूर्यसहस्रातिरेकया कनकमरीचिवर्णया बुद्ध-  
प्रभया स्फुटं वभूव । आह च ।

सूर्यप्रभां स<sup>१३</sup> मवभत्स्यं हि तस्य भाभिर्  
व्याप्तं जगत् सकलमेव सकाननस्थं ।

<sup>१</sup> Chl omits. <sup>१-२</sup> Chl reads: “(the earth) which has the oceans as its ornaments, as well as the mountains and towns . . .”.  
<sup>३-४</sup> Chl “The whole earth, on all sides, moved and fell in, when the *muni* with his feet trod the threshold of the door.”  
<sup>४-५</sup> Chl “When he thus enters into the town, the men and women acquire the pure faith.” <sup>४</sup> Div. °*balābhīhateva jā*°.  
<sup>६-७</sup> Chl “All render a harmonious sound, a parallel to which had never happened in the world.” <sup>७-८</sup> Chl omits. <sup>९-१०</sup> Chl omits.  
<sup>११</sup> Div. *sthānuh*. <sup>१०-१२</sup> Chl “Hillocks get levelled. There are no more any sands or rubbish; thorns and the filth all disappear from the earth. The blind sees, the deaf hears, the dumb speaks, the lame gets cured, the fool becomes sensible, the poor becomes rich, the ill is made whole. All the musical instruments resound without being played or beaten by anybody. The precious instruments knock against each other and bring forth all kinds of sounds.” <sup>१३</sup> Chl *vastujātam antar bahiś ca*. <sup>१४</sup> Div. °*prabhām ava*°.

संप्राप<sup>१</sup> च प्रवरधर्मकथाभिरामो  
लोकं सुरासुरनरं हि समुक्तभावं ॥

यावद् भगवान्<sup>२</sup> राजमार्गं प्रतिपन्नः । तत्र द्वौ बालदारकौ ।  
एकोऽग्रकुलिकपुत्रो द्वितीयः कुलिकपुत्रश्च । <sup>३</sup>पांश्वागारैः क्रीडतः<sup>३</sup> ।  
एकस्य जयो नाम द्वितीयस्य विजयः । ताभ्यां भगवान् दृष्टो द्वात्रिं-  
शमहापुरूपलक्षणालङ्कृतशरीरो<sup>४</sup>ऽसेचनकदर्शनश्च ।

यावज् जयेन दारकेण शक्तुं दास्यामीति<sup>५</sup> पांश्वञ्जलिर्भगवतः  
पात्रे<sup>६</sup> प्रक्षिप्तः । विजयेन च कृताञ्जलिनाभ्यनुमोदितं । वक्ष्यति च<sup>७</sup> ।

दृष्ट्वा महाकारुणिकं<sup>८</sup> स्वयम्भुवं व्यामप्रभोद्द्योतितसर्वगात्रं ।

धीरेण वक्त्रेण कृतप्रसादः<sup>९</sup> पांशुं ददौ<sup>१०</sup> जातिजरान्तकाय ॥

स भगवते प्रतिपादयित्वा प्रणिधानं कर्तुमारब्धः । <sup>११</sup>अनेनाहं  
कुशलमूलेन<sup>१२</sup> एकच्छत्रायां पृथिव्यां राजा स्याम् । अत्रैव<sup>१३</sup> च बुद्धे  
भगवति कारां कुर्यामिति ।

ततो मुनिस्तस्य निशाम्य भावं बालस्य सम्यक् प्रणिधिं च बुद्ध्वा ।

इष्टं फलं <sup>१४</sup>क्षेत्रवशेन दृष्ट्वा जग्राह पांशुं करुणायमानः ॥

<sup>१</sup>Div. °*prāpya*. Ch1 reads this *śloka*: "The splendour diffused from Buddha eclipsed the sun and the moon. Enlightening the creatures, they (the rays of Buddha) refreshed them and made them rejoice extremely. Like the feverish ointed with sandal-paste there was none who was not appeased." <sup>२</sup>Ch1 adds: *ānandena saha*. <sup>३</sup>Ch1 amplifies this: "Kneading the earth, they were amusing themselves by making a town of earth. In that town they made houses and granaries. With the earth they made grains which they put in the granaries." <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 amplifies: "The golden splendour which he emitted illuminated the town within and abroad in such a way, that all the things were of golden colour and there was nothing which was not glittering. Having seen him, they rejoiced. Then Jaya, taking from the granary, the earth which he had given the name of grain . . .". These amplifications are not found in Ch2 which simply indicates by allusion that the earth offered to Buddha symbolised the grain. <sup>६</sup>Ch1 adds: *śradhdayā*. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 "Then Jaya pronounced this *gāthā* of praise:" <sup>८</sup>Ch1 *namāmi tvām kārūṇikam*. <sup>९</sup>Ch1 *lit.* "the firm air which inspires faith and respect". <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 *dade* (*aham*). <sup>११-१२</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१३</sup>Ch1 "reciting *gāthās*". <sup>१४</sup>C *kṣatra*°.

तेन यावद् राज्यवैपाक्यं कुशलमाक्षिप्तं । ततो भगवता  
स्मितं विदर्शितं ।

धर्मता खलु यस्मिन् समये बुद्धा भगवन्तः स्मितं विदर्शयन्ति ।  
तस्मिन् समये नीलपीतलोहितावदातमञ्जिष्ठस्फटिकरजतवर्णा अचिषो  
मुखान् निश्चरन्ति । केचिद्दूर्ध्वतो गच्छन्ति केचिदधस्ताद् गच्छन्ति ।  
येऽधो गच्छन्ति ते सञ्जीवं कालसूत्रं संघातं रौरवं महारौरवं तपनं  
प्रतापनमवीचिपर्यन्तेषु गत्वा ये शीतनरकास्ते<sup>१</sup>पूष्णीभूत्वा निपतन्ति ।  
ये उष्णनरकास्तेषु शीतीभूत्वा निपतन्ति ।

तेन तेषां सत्त्वानां कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रसन्नभ्यन्ते<sup>२</sup> । तेषामेवं  
भवति । किं नु भवन्तो वयमितश्च्युता आहोस्विदन्यत्रोपपन्ना  
इति । येनास्माकं कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रसन्नव्याः<sup>३</sup> । तेषां भगवान्  
प्रसादसंजननार्थं निर्मितं विसर्जयति । तेषामेवं भवति । न वयं  
च्युता नाप्यन्यत्रोपपन्नाः । अपि तु अयमपूर्वदर्शनोऽस्यानुभावेना-  
स्माकं कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रसन्नव्या इति<sup>४</sup> । ते निर्मिते चित्तानि  
प्रसादयित्वा नरकवेदनीयानि कर्माणि क्षपयित्वा<sup>५</sup> देवमनुष्येषु प्रति-  
सन्धिं गृह्णन्ति । यत्र सत्यानां भाजनभूता भवन्ति । ये ऊर्ध्वतो  
गच्छन्ति ते चतुर्महाराजिकान् देवांस्त्रयस्त्रिंशान् यामांस्तुषितान्  
निर्माणरतीन्<sup>६</sup> परनिर्मितवशवर्तिनो ब्रह्मकायिकान् ब्रह्मपुरोहितान्  
महाब्रह्मान् परीत्ताभान्<sup>७</sup> अप्रमाणाभान्<sup>८</sup> आभास्वरान् परीत्तशुभान्  
अप्रमाणशुभान् शुभकृत्स्नान् अनभ्रकान् पुण्यप्रसवान् बृहत्फलान्  
अबृहान् अतपान् सुदृशान् सुदर्शनान् अकनिष्ठपर्यन्तेषु देवेषु गत्वा  
अनित्यं दुःखं शून्यम् अनात्मेति उद्घोषयन्ति । गाथाद्वयं च  
भाषन्ते<sup>९</sup> ।

‘आरभध्वं निष्क्रामत युज्यध्वं बुद्धशासने ।

धुनीत मृत्युनः सैन्यं नडागारमिव कुञ्जरः’ ॥

<sup>१</sup>Div. °*te usñi*°. <sup>२</sup>Div. *kāraṇav . . . pratiprasā*°. <sup>३</sup>Div. *kṣepa*°. <sup>४</sup>Div. °*ratayaḥ*. <sup>५</sup>Div. *parilā*°. <sup>६</sup>Div. *apramāṇābhāsva*°. <sup>७</sup>Div. *bhāṣate*. Ch1 omits this paragraph and the preceding. Ch2 reads. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads.

१थो ह्यस्मिन् धर्मविनये अप्रमत्तश्चरिष्यति ।  
प्रहाय जातिसंसारं दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यति ॥

अथ ता अर्चिषस्त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रं लोकघातुमन्वाहिण्ड्य  
भगवन्तमेवानुगच्छन्ति । यदि भगवानतीतं कर्म व्याकर्तुकामो भवति  
पृष्ठतोऽन्तर्धीयन्तेऽनागतं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पुरतोऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । नर-  
कोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पादतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । तिर्यगुप-  
पत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पाण्यमन्तर्धीयन्ते । प्रेतोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तु-  
कामो भवति पादांगुष्ठेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । मनुष्योपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो  
भवति जानुनो[र]न्तर्धीयन्ते । बलचक्रवर्तिराज्यं व्याकर्तुकामो  
भवति वामे करतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । चक्रवर्तिराज्यं व्याकर्तुकामो  
भवति दक्षिणे करतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । देवोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति  
नाभ्यामन्तर्धीयन्ते । श्रावकबोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति आस्येऽन्त-  
र्धीयन्ते । प्रत्येकां बोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति ऊर्णायामन्तर्धीयन्ते ।  
अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति उष्णीषेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते ।

अथ ता अर्चिषो भगवन्तं त्रिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्य भगवतो वामे  
करतलेऽन्तर्हिताः ३ ।

अथायुष्मान् आनन्दः १कृताञ्जलिपुटो गाथां भाषते । नाहेत्व-  
प्रत्ययः ४ ।

१गतोद्धवा दैन्यमदप्रहीणा बुद्धा जगत्युत्तमहेतुभूताः ५ ।

नाकारणं शङ्खमृणालगौरं स्मितं १विदर्शन्ति जिनां १ जितारयः १ ॥

तत्कालं स्वयमधिगम्य वीर बुद्ध्या श्रोतृणां श्रमण जिनेन्द्र कांक्षितानां ।

धीराभिर्मुनिवृष वाग्भिरुत्तमाभिरुत्पन्नं व्यपनय संशयं शुभाभिः १० ॥

मेघस्तनितनिर्घोष गोवृषेन्द्रनिभेक्षण ११ ।

फलं पांशुप्रदानस्य व्याकूरुष्व नरोत्तम १२ ॥

भगवानाह । एतदानन्द एवमेतद् आनन्द नाहेत्वप्रत्ययं<sup>१</sup> तथा-  
गता<sup>२</sup> अर्हन्तः सम्यक्संबुद्धाः<sup>३</sup> स्मितमुपदर्शयन्ति । अपि तु सहेतु  
सप्रत्ययं तथागता अर्हन्तः सम्यक्संबुद्धाः स्मितमुपदर्शयन्ति<sup>४</sup> ।

पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दारकं<sup>५</sup> येन<sup>६</sup> तथागतस्य पात्रे पांश्वञ्जलिः  
प्रक्षिप्तः<sup>७</sup> । एवं भदन्त<sup>८</sup> । अयमानन्द दारकः अनेन<sup>९</sup> कुशलमूलेन<sup>१०</sup>  
वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम्ना राजा  
भविष्यति । चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती<sup>११</sup> धार्मिको धर्मराजा<sup>१२</sup> । यो मे शरीर-  
धातून् वैस्तारिकान् करिष्यति । चतुरशीति<sup>१३</sup> धर्मराजिकासहस्रं  
प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति । बहुजनहिताय प्रतिपत्स्यते । इति । आह च ।

अस्तंगते मयि भविष्यति सैकराजा<sup>१४</sup>

योऽसौ ह्यशोक इति नाम विशालकीर्तिः ।

<sup>१५</sup>मद्घातुर्गर्भपरिमण्डितजम्बुषण्डम्

एतत् करिष्यति नरामरपूजितं तु<sup>१६</sup> ॥

अयमस्य देयधर्मो यत् तथागतस्य पांश्वञ्जलिः पात्रे प्रक्षिप्तः<sup>१७</sup> ।

यावद् भगवता तेषां सर्वं आयुष्मत आनन्दाय दत्ताः । गोमयेन<sup>१८</sup>  
मिश्रयित्वा<sup>१९</sup> यत्र चंक्रमे तथागतश्चंक्रम्यते तत्र गोमयकार्षी<sup>२०</sup>  
प्रयच्छेति<sup>२१</sup> । यावदायुष्मताऽनन्देन तेषां सगोमयेन मिश्रयित्वा यत्र  
चंक्रमति भगवान् तत्र गोमयकार्षी दत्ता<sup>२२</sup> ।

तेन खलु पुनः समयेन राजगृहे नगरे विम्बिसारो राजा राज्यं  
कारयति<sup>२३</sup> । राज्ञो विम्बिसारस्य अजातशत्रुः पुत्रः । अजातशत्रोरु-

*smitasya kāraṇam brūhi.*

<sup>१</sup>Div. reads: *nāheturapra*°. <sup>२-३</sup>Ch1 *buddhāh*. <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 omits.  
<sup>६</sup>Ch1 *dārakau*. <sup>७</sup>Div. D °*nto'yamā*°, rest *bhavanto'ya*°. <sup>८</sup>Ch1  
*kusumapure (i.e. pāṭali-)*. <sup>९</sup>Ch1 "Who makes the wheel turn,  
master of one of the four continents." <sup>१०</sup>=*rājah*. <sup>११</sup>BC °*tiḥ*,  
AD °*tir*. <sup>१२</sup>=*ekarājo*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Ch1 "He will adorn my relics; with them  
he will fill the Jambudvīpa. Men as well as gods will bring  
offerings to them." <sup>१५</sup>Div. -*pūjītānām*. <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 "Such will  
be the great recompense for giving a little of dust." This line  
too is included in the *gāthā*. <sup>१७</sup>Ch1 omits but Ch2 reads.  
<sup>१८</sup>Div. °*yacchati*. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Ch1 "On that occasion, he pronounced  
these words: O, Ānanda . . ." The story seems to be dis-  
continued here. <sup>२१</sup>Ch1 omits this sentence. <sup>२२</sup>Ch1 *Bimbāsāra*°.



दायी<sup>१</sup> । उदायिभद्रस्य मुण्डः । मुण्डस्य काकवर्णी<sup>२</sup> । काकवर्णिनः सहली<sup>३</sup> । सहलिनस्तुलकुचिः<sup>४</sup> । तुलकुचेर्महामण्डलः<sup>५</sup> । महामण्डलस्य प्रसेनजित् । प्रसेनजितो नन्दः । नन्दस्य विन्दुसारः । पाटलिपुत्रे नगरे विन्दुसारो नाम राजा राज्यं कारयति । विन्दुसारस्य राज्ञः पुत्रो जातः । तस्य सुसीम इति नामधेयं कृतं ।

तेन च समयेन चम्पायां<sup>६</sup> नगर्यामन्यतमो ब्राह्मणः । तस्य दुहिता जाता । अभिरूपा दर्शनीया प्रासादिका जनपदकल्याणी<sup>७</sup> । सा नैमित्तिकैर्व्याकृता । अस्या दारिकाया राजा भर्ता भविष्यति<sup>८</sup> । द्वे पुत्ररत्ने जनयिष्यति । एकश्चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती भविष्यति । द्वितीयः प्रव्रजित्वा सिद्धव्रतो<sup>९</sup> भविष्यति<sup>१०</sup> । श्रुत्वा च ब्राह्मणस्य रोमहर्षो जातः । सम्पत्तिकामो लोकः<sup>११</sup> ।

“स तां दुहितरं ग्रहाय पाटलिपुत्रं गतः” । तेन सा सर्वालङ्कारैर्विभूषयित्वा राज्ञो विन्दुसारस्य भार्यार्यमनुप्रदत्ता । “इयं हि देवकन्या वन्या प्रशस्ता चेति” ।

यावद्राज्ञा विन्दुसारेणान्तेःपुरं प्रवेशिता । “अन्तःपुरिकाणां बुद्धिरूपन्ना । इयमभिरूपा प्रासादिका जनपदकल्याणी । यदि राजाऽनया सार्धं परिचारयिष्यति अस्माकं भूयश्चक्षुःसंप्रेषणमपि न करि-

<sup>१</sup>D *ujāyī*. Ch1 *udānabhadrah*. <sup>२</sup>Ch1 *°karnī*. <sup>३</sup>D *sahālī*. Ch1 *saphalāḥ, saphalasya*. <sup>४</sup>C *bhulekucī, bhulekuceḥ*. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 *sahama*<sup>०</sup>. Ch2 does not give this long list. It simply says: “In the city of Pāṭaliputra there was a king named Candragupta. This king had a son who was called Bindusāra.” The name of Candragupta is omitted both in Div. and Ch1. <sup>६</sup>Ch1 “In the kingdom of Campala”. <sup>७-८</sup>Ch1 “to whom was born a jewel of a girl.” <sup>९</sup>Ch1 adds: “She will be the favourite of the king.” <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 *arhattvam prāpsyati*. <sup>११</sup>Ch1 omits this sentence. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 reads: “In the palace, the queens were all jealous. They thought: ‘The king will certainly love her and hate all of us. Let us teach her a low profession, so that the king may dislike her.’ They taught her with success to cut and dress the hair and the beard. Waiting till the king was asleep they made her shave the beard of the king. The king got up and said: ‘I have to

प्यति । ताभिः सा नापितकर्म शिक्षापिता । सा राज्ञः केशश्मश्रु<sup>१</sup> प्रसाधयति । यावत् सुशिक्षिता संवृत्ता । यदारभते राज्ञः केश-श्मश्रु<sup>२</sup> प्रसाधयितुं तदा राजा शेते । यावद्राजा प्रीतेन वरेण प्रवारिता<sup>३</sup> किं त्वं वरमिच्छसीति । तयाऽभिहितं । देवेन मे सह समागम स्यात् । राजाह । त्वं नापिनी<sup>४</sup> अहं राजा<sup>५</sup> क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिपिक्तः<sup>६</sup> कथं मया सार्वं समागमो भविष्यति । सा कथयति । देव नाह नापिनी<sup>७</sup> । अपि ब्राह्मणस्याहं दुहिता । तेन देवस्य पत्न्यर्थं दत्ता<sup>८</sup> राजा कथयति । केन त्वं नापितकर्म शिक्षापिता । सा कथयति अन्तःपुरिकाभिः<sup>९</sup> । राजाऽह । न भूयस्त्वया नापितकर्म<sup>१०</sup> कर्तव्यं ।

यावद्राजाग्रमहिषी स्थापिता । तया सार्वं क्रीडति रमतं परिचारयति । सा आपन्नसत्त्वा संवृत्ता । यावदष्टानां नवानां मासा नामत्ययात् प्रसूता<sup>११</sup> । तस्याः पुत्रो जातः ।

तस्य विस्तरेण जातिमहं कृत्वा [पृच्छति] किं कुमारस्य भवतु नाम<sup>१२</sup> । सा कथयति । अस्य दारकस्य जातस्य<sup>१३</sup> अशोकाऽस्मि संवृत्ता । तस्याशोक इति नाम कृतम्<sup>१४</sup> ।

यावद् द्वितीयः पुत्रो जातः । विगते<sup>१५</sup> शोके जातस्<sup>१६</sup> तस्य वीतशोक इति नाम कृतं ।

अशोको दुःस्पर्शगात्रः । राज्ञो विन्दुसारस्यानभिप्रेतः ।

अथ राजा विन्दुसारः<sup>१७</sup> कुमारं परीक्षितुकामः<sup>१८</sup> पिङ्गलवत्सा-जीवं परिव्राजकमामन्त्रयते । उपाध्याय कुमारांस्तावत् परीक्षयामः<sup>१९</sup> ।

shave my beard.' She said that it was done. Then the king looked into the mirror and seeing that the beard was shaved, said..'<sup>१</sup>Div. °śmaśrum. 1-2Chl omits. 3Chl "You are of low status." 4Chl omits. 5Chl "I am not of low status." 6Chl adds: "The concubines through jealousy have taught me a low profession." 6-7Chl omits. 8Chl "this profession". 9-10Chl "They loved and lived in pleasure." 11-12Chl omits. 13Chl adds: atah. 14Chl adds "Aśoka signifies 'without grief'." 15Chl adds: "Bindusāra had besides numerous sons from his other wives. He gathered together the diviners to cast horoscopes of his sons. There was one diviner named pi liṅga vatsa (Ch2 Piṅgalavatsa)." 16Chl parikṣasva. Div. °kṣāmah.

कः शक्यते ममात्ययाद् राज्यं कारयितुं । पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः कथयति । तेन हि देव कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं निर्गच्छ, परीक्षयामः । यावद्राजा कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं निर्गतः ।

यावदशोकः कुमारो मात्रा चोच्यते । वत्स राजा कुमारान् परीक्षितुकामः सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं गतः । त्वमपि तत्र गच्छेति । अशोकः कथयति । राज्ञोऽहमनभिप्रेतो दर्शनेनापि । किमहं तत्र गमिष्यामि । सा कथयति । तथापि गच्छेति । अशोक उवाच । आहारं प्रेषय ।

यावदशोकः पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छति । राधगुप्तेन चाग्रामात्य-पुत्रेणोक्तः । अशोक क्व गमिष्यसीति । अशोकः कथयति । राजाद्य सुवर्णमण्डपे उद्याने कुमारान् परीक्षयति । तत्र राज्ञो महल्लको हस्तिनागस्तिष्ठति । यावदशोकस्तस्मिन् महल्लकेऽभिरुह्य सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं गत्वा कुमाराणां मध्येऽत्र पृथिव्यां प्रस्तीर्य निपसाद ।

यावत् कुमारानामाहार उपनामितः । अशोकस्यापि मात्रा शाल्योदनं दधिसंमिश्रं मृद्भ्राजने प्रेषितं । ततो राजा विन्दुसारेण पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकोऽभिहितः । उपाध्याय परीक्षस्व कुमारान् । कः शक्यते ममात्ययाद् राज्यं कर्तुमिति । पश्यति पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः । चिन्तयति च । अशोको राजा भविष्यति । अयं च राज्ञो नाभिप्रेतः । यदि कथयिष्यामि अशोको राजा भविष्यतीति, नास्ति मे जीवितं । स कथयति । देवाभेदेन

‘व्याकरिष्यामि । राजाऽह । अभेदेन व्याकुरुष्व । आह । यस्य यानं शोभनं स राजा भविष्यति’ ।

तेपामेकैकस्य वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । मम यानं शोभनमहं राजा भविष्यामि । अशोकश्चिन्तयति । अहं हस्तिस्कन्धेनागतो मम यानं शोभनमहं राजा भविष्यामीति । राजाऽह । भूयस्तावद् उपाध्याय परीक्षस्व । पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः कथयति । देव यस्यासनमग्रं स राजा भविष्यति ।

तेपामेकैकस्य वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । ममासनमग्रं । अशोकश्चिन्तयति । मम पृथिवी आसनमहं राजा भविष्यामि । एवं भाजनं भोजनं पानं विस्तरेण कुमाराणां<sup>३</sup> परीक्ष्य [पाटलिपुत्रं] प्रविष्टः<sup>४</sup> ।

‘यावदशोको मात्रोच्यते । को व्याकृतो राजा भविष्यतीति । अशोकः कथयति । अभेदेन व्याकृतं । यस्य यानमग्रमासनं पानं भाजनं भोजनं चेति स राजा भविष्यतीति । यथा पश्यामि<sup>५</sup> अहं राजा भविष्यामि । मम हस्तिस्कन्धं यानं पृथिवी आसनं मृन्मयं भाजनं शाल्योदनं<sup>६</sup> दधिव्यञ्जनं<sup>७</sup> भोजनं<sup>८</sup> पानीयं पानमिति<sup>९</sup> ।

ततः पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकोऽशोको राजा भविष्यतीति तस्य मातरमारब्धः सेवितुं । यावत् तयोच्यते । उपाध्याय कतरः कुमारो राजो विन्दुसारस्यात्ययाद् राजा भविष्यतीति । आह । अशोकः<sup>१०</sup> । तयोच्यते । कदाचित्<sup>११</sup> त्वां राजा निर्वन्धेन पृच्छेत्<sup>१२</sup> ।

1-2Chl “I cannot tell his name but I can describe his nature: He who avails himself of the best things will be the king.”  
<sup>3</sup>Div. °rān. 2-4Chl “Among the sons of the king, everyone believed himself to be the chosen one: one because of his mounting the best mount, the other because of his sitting on the best seat, another because of his eating the best food, still another because of his being served with the best vessel, yet another because of his drinking the best drink.”  
<sup>5-6</sup>Chl *aśokaścintayati*. <sup>7</sup>Chl simply *hastī*. <sup>8</sup>Chl adds: *uttamam*.  
<sup>9</sup>Chl *odanam*. <sup>10</sup>Div. omits it. <sup>11</sup>Chl adds: “For these reasons, I am going to be the king. When the diviner proclaimed the oracle, the king sent back his sons to the town.” <sup>11-12</sup>Chl “The diviner said to the mother of Aśoka: ‘Aśoka will certainly be the king.’” <sup>13-14</sup>Chl “Mind, you don’t repeat it.”

गच्छ त्वं प्रत्यन्तं समाश्रय' । यदा श्रृणोषि अशोको राजा संवृत्तस्त-  
दाऽगन्तव्यं । यावत्स प्रत्यन्तेषु जनपदेषु संश्रितः' ।

अथ राज्ञो विन्दुसारस्य तक्षशिला नाम नगरं विरुद्धं । तत्र  
राज्ञा विन्दुसारेण अशोको विसर्जितः । 'गच्छ कुमार तक्षशिला-  
नगरं । संनाहय' । चतुरङ्गवलकायं दत्तं । यानं' प्रहरणं च प्रति-  
पिद्धं ।

यावदशोकः' कुमारः पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छन् भृत्यैर्विज्ञप्तः ।  
कुमार नैवास्माकं सैन्यप्रहरणं' केन वयं कं योधयामः' । ततोऽशोके-  
नाभिहितं ।

यदि मम राज्यवैपाक्यं कुशलमस्ति सैन्यप्रहरणं' प्रादुर्भवतु ।  
एवमुक्ते कुमारेण पृथिव्यामवकाशो दत्तो देवताभिः 'सैन्यप्रहरणानि  
चोपनीतानि । यावत् कुमारश्चतुरङ्गेण बलकायेन तक्षशिलां गतः ।

'श्रुत्वा तक्षशिलानिवासिनः पीरा अर्धतृतीयानि योजनानि  
मार्गं शोभां कृत्वा पूर्णघटमादाय प्रत्युद्गताः । प्रत्युद्गम्य च  
कथयन्ति'' । न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा नापि राज्ञो विन्दुसारस्य ।  
अपि तु दुष्टामात्या अस्माकं परिभवं कुर्वन्ति'' । महता च सत्कारेण  
तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः'' ।

एवं विस्तरेण अशोकः 'खशराज्यं प्रवेशितः'। तस्य द्वौ महानग्नौ<sup>१</sup> संश्रितौ। तेन तौ वृत्त्या संविभक्तौ<sup>२</sup>। तस्याग्रतः पर्वतान् संच्छिन्दन्तौ संप्रस्थितौ<sup>३</sup>। देवताभिश्चोक्तं। अशोकश्चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती<sup>४</sup> भविष्यति। न केनचिद् विरोधितव्यमिति। विस्तरेण यावदासमुद्रा पृथिवी आज्ञापिता<sup>५</sup>।

यावत् सुसीमः कुमार<sup>६</sup> उद्यानात्<sup>७</sup> पाटलिपुत्रं प्रविशति। राज्ञो विन्दुसारस्याग्रामात्यः खल्वाटकः<sup>८</sup> पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छति। तस्य सुसीमेन कुमारेण क्रीडाभिप्रायतया खटका मूर्ध्नि पातिता। यावदमात्यश्चिन्तयति। "इदानीं खटकां निपातयति। यदा राजा भविष्यति तदा शस्त्रं पातयिष्यति। तथा करिष्यामि यथा राजैव न भविष्यति। तेन पञ्चामात्यशतानि भिन्नानि<sup>९</sup>। अशोकश्चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती<sup>१०</sup> निर्दिष्टः। एतं<sup>११</sup> राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामः। तक्षशिलाश्च पुनर्<sup>१२</sup> विरोधिताः।

यावद्राज्ञा सुसीमः कुमारस्तक्षशिलामनुप्रेषितः। न च शक्यते संनामयितुं। विन्दुसारश्च राजा ग्लानीभूतः<sup>१३</sup>। तेनाभिहितं।

<sup>१</sup>Div. *svaśa*°. <sup>२</sup>Chl "The king again charged Aśoka to chastise the kingdom of Khaśa. The inhabitants of that kingdom came to meet him and yielded in the same way as before. Having subdued them, Aśoka returned to his country."  
<sup>३</sup>Chl *mallau*. <sup>४</sup>Chl "Aśoka gave them fief of towns." <sup>५</sup>Chl "At that time, the gods and the *yakṣas* protected the territory of the kingdom."  
<sup>६</sup>Chl adds: *yakṣaiś ca*. <sup>७</sup>Chl adds: "saint-king". <sup>८</sup>Chl reads this sentence as: "He will gradually increase his conquests and all who are within the four oceans will be subdued by him."  
<sup>९</sup>Chl "elder brother of Aśoka". <sup>१०</sup>Div. *khallā*°. <sup>११-१२</sup>Chl "This prince has not yet succeeded to the throne and already he uses his power to strike me on the head. If he succeeds to the throne he will undoubtedly behead me with a sword." Then he related to the five hundred ministers this fault of Susīma and told them, 'He is not worthy to be the king.'  
<sup>१३</sup>Chl adds: "saint-king". <sup>१४</sup>Div. *eam*°. <sup>१५</sup>Div. omits it. Chl "Afterwards, the kingdom of Takṣaśilā revolted again under the influence of the wicked advisers."  
<sup>१६</sup>Chl "King Bindusāra, knowing that he could not subdue this kingdom, fell ill."

सुसीमं कुमारमानयत<sup>१</sup> । राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामीति । अशोकं तक्षशिलां प्रवेशयत<sup>२</sup> ।

यावदमात्यैरशोकः कुमारो हरिद्रया प्रलिप्तः । ३लाक्षां च लोहपात्रे क्वाथयित्वा क्वथितेन रसेन लोहपात्राणि म्रक्षयित्वा<sup>३</sup> द्योरयन्ति । अशोकः कुमारो ग्लानीभूत इति<sup>४</sup> । यदा विन्दुसारः स्वल्पावशेषप्राणः संवृत्तस्तदाऽमात्यैरशोकः कुमारः सर्वालङ्कारैर्भूषयित्वा राज्ञो<sup>५</sup> विन्दुसारस्योपनीतः<sup>६</sup> । इमं तावद् राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापय<sup>७</sup> । यदा सुसीम आगतो भविष्यति तदा तं राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामः<sup>८</sup> ।

ततो राजा रुषितः<sup>९</sup> । अशोकेन चाभिहितं<sup>१०</sup> । यदि मम धर्मेण राज्यं भवति देवता मम पट्टं वध्नन्तु<sup>११</sup> । यावद् देवताभिः पट्टो वद्धः । तं दृष्ट्वा<sup>१२</sup> विन्दुसारस्य राज्ञ उष्णं शोणितं मुखादागतं । यावत् कालगतः ।

यदाऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितस्<sup>१३</sup> तस्योर्ध्वं योजनं यक्षाः [आदेशं] शृण्वन्ति । अधो योजनं नागाः<sup>१४</sup> । तेन राधगुप्तोऽग्रामात्यः स्थापितः ।

सुसीमेनापि श्रुतं विन्दुसारो राजा कालगतोऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितः । इति श्रुत्वा च रुषितमभ्यागतः<sup>१५</sup> । त्वरितं च तस्माद् देशाद् आगतः<sup>१६</sup> ।

‘अशोकेनापि पाटलिपुत्रे नगरे एकस्मिन् द्वारे एको नग्नः’  
स्थापितः । द्वितीये द्वितीयस्तृतीये’ राघगुप्तः पूर्वद्वारे स्वयमेव  
राजाऽशोकोऽवस्थितः ।

‘राघगुप्तेन च पूर्वस्मिन् द्वारे’ यन्त्रमयो हस्ती स्थापितः ।  
तस्योपरि’ अशोकस्य च प्रतिमा निर्मिता’ । परितश्च परिखां  
खनयित्वा ‘खदिराङ्गारैश्च पूरयित्वा तृणेनाच्छाद्य [सा] पांशुनाकीर्णा ।  
‘सुसीमश्चाभिहितो यदि शक्यसेऽशोकं घातयितुं राजेति’ ।

स यावत् पूर्वद्वारं गतः । ‘अशोकेन सह योत्स्यामीति ।  
अङ्गारपूर्णायां परिखायां पतितः । तत्रैव चानयेन व्यसनमापन्नः’<sup>१३</sup> ।  
यदा च सुसीमः प्रघातितस्<sup>१३</sup> तस्यापि महानग्ने’<sup>१४</sup> भद्रायुधो नाम्नाऽ-  
नेकसहस्रपरिवारः । स<sup>१५</sup> भगवच्छासने प्रव्रजितोऽर्हन् संवृत्तः ।

‘अथाऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितः स तैरमात्यैरवजादृश्यते ।  
तेनामात्यानां शासनार्थमभिहितं’<sup>१६</sup> । भवन्तः पुष्पवृक्षान् फलवृक्षांश्च  
छित्त्वा ‘कण्टकवृक्षान् परिपालयन्तु’ । अमात्या आहुः । ‘देवेन  
कुत्र दृष्टं । अपि तु कण्टकवृक्षान् छित्त्वा पुष्पवृक्षाः फलवृक्षाश्च परि-  
पालयितव्याः’<sup>१७</sup> । तैर्यावत् त्रिरपि राज आज्ञा प्रतिकलिता । ततो

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 adds: “Aśoka having been informed of the return of Susīma, was on his guard.” <sup>२</sup>Ch1 “athlet (*malla*)”. <sup>३</sup>Ch1 *tr̥tīyo rādha Guptaś ca*. <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 *tatra ca*. <sup>६</sup>Ch1 reads: *tasyopari*. Div. omits. <sup>७</sup>Div. *pratimām*, it omits the next two words which are found in Ch. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 omits *khadira*. <sup>९</sup>Div. °*kirṇaḥ*. <sup>१०-११</sup>Ch1 “Susīma had gone to the third gate, Rādha Gupta said to him: ‘Now Aśoka stands at the eastern gate, enter by that. If you succeed I shall be your servant. If you cannot subdue Aśoka, you cannot enter by this gate.’” <sup>११-१२</sup>Ch1 “He rushed straight towards the elephant to seize Aśoka, but carelessly fell into the brazier and perished.” <sup>१२-१३</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 “a giant”. <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 “‘wise-brave’ by name”. Ch2 agrees with the text. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Ch1 “with myriads of soldiers over whom he commanded”. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Ch1 “At the ministers disregarded Aśoka, he made a plan to chastise them. He said...” <sup>१८</sup>Div. *amātyānām abhikītaṁ*. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Ch1 *lit.* “with them make enclosure for the...”. <sup>२०</sup>Div. °*yatha*. <sup>२१-२२</sup>Ch1 “Till the present time we have heard people speak of enclosing the orchards with the thorny trees, but not of enclosing the thornbush with the fruit-trees.” <sup>२२</sup>Div. *puṣpavṛkṣān phalavṛkṣāṁśca ... vyā*.



राजा रुपितेन 'असि निष्क्रोशं कृत्वा पञ्चानाममात्यशतानां शिरांसि छिन्नानि' ।

यावद् राजाऽशोकोऽपरेण समयेनान्तःपुरपरिवृतो वसन्तकाले समये 'पुष्पितफलितेषु पादपेषु पूर्वनगरस्य' उद्यानं गतः । तत्र च परिभ्रमताऽशोकवृक्षः<sup>१</sup> सुपुष्पितो दृष्टः । ततो राज्ञो ममाऽयं सहनामा इत्यनुनयो जातः । स च राजाऽशोको दुःस्पर्शगात्रः । ता<sup>२</sup> युवतयस्तं नेच्छन्ति स्पष्टं । यावद् राजा शयितस्तस्यान्तःपुरेण रोपेण<sup>३</sup> तस्माद-शोकवृक्षात् पुष्पाणि शाखाश्च छिन्नाः ।

यावद् राजा प्रतिबुद्धेन सोऽशोकवृक्षो दृष्टः । पृष्ठाश्च<sup>४</sup> तत्रस्थाः<sup>५</sup> केन स छिन्नः<sup>६</sup> । ते कथयन्ति देवान्तःपुरिकाभिरिति । श्रुत्वा च राजाऽमर्षजातेन पञ्चस्त्रीशतानि<sup>७</sup> किटिकैः संवेष्ट्य दग्धानि<sup>८</sup> ।

तस्येमानि<sup>९</sup> अशुभानि आलोक्य चण्डो राजा चण्डाऽशोक इति व्यवस्थापितः ।

यावद् राघमुप्तेनाग्रामात्येनाभिहितः । देव न सदृशं स्वयमे-वेदृशमकार्यं कर्तुं । अपि तु देवस्य वच्यघातकाः पुरुषाः स्थापयितव्या ये देवस्य वच्यकरणीयं<sup>१०</sup> शोषयिष्यन्ति । यावद्राजा राजपुरुषाः प्रत्युक्ता वच्यघातं मे मार्गध्वमिति<sup>११</sup> ।

<sup>१-२</sup>ChI "The five hundred ministers were put to death."

<sup>३-४</sup>ChI omits. <sup>५</sup>Div. *vykṣa*. <sup>६-७</sup>ChI "The concubines felt for him neither love nor respect. They disliked his close contact. Waiting upon him as long as he was awake, they went for a walk in the park. They saw the Aśoka-tree, *tataś tābhīś*."

<sup>८</sup>Div. *ṣṭaś ca*. <sup>९</sup>Div. omits. <sup>१०</sup>Div. *taś chinmān*. <sup>११</sup>ChI adds: *dhytāni*.

<sup>११-१२</sup>ChI "They were disposed around the tree and were burnt alive." <sup>१३</sup>Div. *tasya (or tasya-)mā*. ChI "The inhabitants of the whole kingdom proclaimed him cruel and called him, 'the cruel Aśoka (*caṇḍāśoka*)'." <sup>१४</sup>Div. *karāṇīyānt*. <sup>१५</sup>Div. *māṅgadhvati*. ChI reads this and the preceding sentence as: "'You should select now a cruel person so that he may execute criminals.' The king approved these words. Then he charged an envoy to search for a cruel person."

यावत् तत्र नातिदूरे<sup>१</sup> पर्वतपादमूले कर्वटकं<sup>२</sup> । तत्र<sup>३</sup> तन्त्र-  
वायः प्रतिवसति । तस्य पुत्रो जातः । गिरिक इति नामधेयं कृतं<sup>४</sup> ।  
चण्डो दुष्टात्मा<sup>५</sup> मातरं पितरं च परिभाषते ।

‘दारकदारिकाश्च ताडयति । पिपीलिकान् मक्षिकान् मूषिकान्  
मत्स्यांश्च जालेन बडिशेन प्रघातयति । चण्डो दारकस्तस्य चण्ड-  
गिरिक इति नामधेयं कृतं ।

यावद् राजपुरुषैर्दृष्टः पापे कर्मणि प्रवृत्तः । स तैरभिहितः<sup>६</sup> ।  
शक्यसे राज्ञोऽशोकस्य वध्यकरणीयं कर्तुं । स आह । ‘कृत्स्नस्य  
जम्बुद्वीपस्य वध्यकरणीयं साधयिष्यामीति’<sup>७</sup> ।

यावद् राज्ञो निवेदितं । राज्ञोऽभिहितमानीयतामिति । ‘स च  
राजपुरुषैरभिहितः । आगच्छ राजा त्वामाह्वयतीति’<sup>८</sup> । तेना-  
भिहितम् । आगमयत् । यावदहं मातापितरावलोकयामीति ।  
यावन् मातापितरावुवाच । अम्ब, तातानुजानीध्वं यास्याम्यहं  
राज्ञोऽशोकस्य वध्यकरणीयं साधयितुं<sup>९</sup> । ताभ्यां च स निवारितः ।  
तेन तौ जीविताद् व्यपरोपितौ । एवं यावद् राजपुरुषैरभिहितः ।  
किमर्थं चिरेणाभ्यागतोऽसि । तेन<sup>१०</sup> चैतत् प्रकरणं विस्तरेणारोचितं ।

स तैर्यावद् राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामितः । तेन राज्ञोऽभिहितं<sup>११</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl “in the frontier of the kingdom”. <sup>२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>३-४</sup>Chl “He gave birth and brought up a son named Giri.” Ch2 reads: “Girika”. <sup>५-६</sup>Chl “With the hands he spread nets. With the feet he placed traps. He smeared with poison the herbs and the leaves and the animals who touched them all died. The inhabitants had all proclaimed him the most violent man. In the country he was called ‘the cruel Girika (*caṇḍa-girika*)’.” The envoy of the king went to him and said . . .” <sup>७</sup>Div. °*kāms ca*. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl “If it were necessary to chastise the wicked people of the whole world, I would have succeeded even in that. Then could I not do this on account of Aśoka alone.” <sup>८</sup>Div. C *sodha*°. <sup>९-११</sup>Chl “The latter, knowing that the envoy came back in search of him, took leave of his parents.” <sup>१०</sup>Div. °*māhūya*°. <sup>११</sup>Div. °*karāṇiyām sā*°. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl “Girika said: ‘My father and my mother refused (to give) their consent. I have killed them. Therefore, I have been late in coming (back).’ Thereafter, he followed the envoy, saw the king and said to him . . .”

ममार्थाय गृहं<sup>१</sup> कारयस्वेति । यावद् राज्ञा गृहं कारापितं<sup>२</sup> । परमदारुणं<sup>३</sup> द्वारमात्ररमणीयं । तस्य रमणीयकं वन्धनमिति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापिता । स आह । देव वरं मे प्रयच्छ । यस्तत्र प्रविशेत् तस्य न भूयो निर्गम इति । यावद् राज्ञाऽभिहितम् । एवमस्त्विति ।

ततः स चण्डगिरिकः कुक्कुटारामं गतः । भिक्षुश्च बाल-पण्डितसूत्रं पठति । 'सत्त्वा नरकेपूपपन्नाः । यावन् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाज्योमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायाम् एकज्वालीभूतायाम् उत्तानकान् प्रतिष्ठाप्य अयोमयेन विष्कम्भणेन मुखद्वारं<sup>४</sup> विष्कम्भ्य अयोगुडान् आदीप्तान् प्रदीप्तान् संप्रज्वलितान् एकज्वालीभूतान् आस्ये प्रक्षिपन्ति । ये तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओष्ठावपि दहन्ति जिह्वामपि कण्ठमपि कण्ठनाडमपि हृदयमपि हृदयसामन्तमपि अन्त्राणि अन्त्र-गुणानपि दग्ध्वा अन्नः प्रचरन्ति । इयद्दुःखा<sup>५</sup> हि भिक्षवो नरकाः ।

सत्त्वा नरकेपूपपन्नाः । यावन् नरकपाला गृहीत्वा अयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायाम् एकज्वालीभूतायाम् उत्तानकान् प्रतिष्ठाप्य अयोमयेन विष्कम्भणेन मुखद्वारं विष्कम्भ्य क्वथितं ताम्रम् आस्ये प्रक्षिपन्ति । यत् तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओष्ठौ अपि दहन्ति जिह्वामपि तालु अपि कण्ठमपि कण्ठनाडमपि अन्त्राणि अन्त्र-गुणानपि दग्ध्वा अन्नः प्रचरन्ति । इयद्दुःखा<sup>६</sup> हि भिक्षवो नरकाः ।

सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेपूपपन्नाः<sup>७</sup> । यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाज्यो-मय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायाम् अवाद्भुग्वान् प्रतिष्ठाप्यायोमयेन मूत्रेण आदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेन 'एकज्वालीभूतेन आस्फाटय अयोमयेन कुटारेण आदीप्तेन संप्रदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेन एकज्वालीभूतेन तदध्नुवन्ति संतदध्नुवन्ति संप्रतदध्नुवन्ति अष्टांगमपि षट्शमपि चतुरस्रमपि वृत्तमपि मण्डलमपि उन्नतमपि अवनतमपि शान्त-मपि विद्यान्तमपि तदध्नुवन्ति । इयद्दुःखा<sup>८</sup> हि भिक्षवो नरकाः<sup>९</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 "prison". <sup>२-३</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>४</sup>Div. 'sohhanam. <sup>५</sup>Div. 'jandita'.  
Ch1 "the sūtra of the cruel boy (bāla) and stupid (aphandita).  
Ch2 "the sūtra of the five divine messengers (deva-dūta)."  
<sup>६-७</sup>Ch1 "Where it is said: (See Notes)". <sup>८</sup>BCDE 'devānāṃ, 'jā-  
'yānāṃ'. <sup>९</sup>Div. 'nānā. <sup>१०</sup>Div. 'tena naitā'.

सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः । यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वा अयो-  
मय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायाम-  
वाङ् मुखान् प्रतिष्ठाप्यायोमयेन सूत्रेणादीप्तेन प्रदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेनैक-  
ज्वालीभूतेनास्फाट्यायोमय्यां भूम्यामादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलि-  
तायां नैकज्वालीभूतायां तक्ष्णुवन्ति संतक्ष्णुवन्ति संपरितक्ष्णुवन्ति  
अष्टांशमपि पडंशमपि चतुरन्ध्रमपि मण्डलमपि उन्नतमपि अवनतमपि  
शान्तमपि विशान्तमपि तक्ष्णुवन्ति । इयद्दुःखा<sup>१</sup> हि भिक्षवो नरकाः ।

सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः । यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाऽयोमय्यां  
भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायामुत्तानकान्  
प्रतिष्ठाप्य पञ्चविध<sup>२</sup>वन्धनकारणां कारयन्ति । उभयोर्हस्तयो-  
रायसौ कीलौ क्रामन्ति । उभयोः पादयोरायसौ<sup>३</sup> कीलौ<sup>४</sup> क्रामन्ति ।  
मध्ये हृदयस्यायसं कीलं क्रामन्ति । सुदुःखा हि भिक्षवो नरकाः ।

एवं पञ्च वेदना<sup>५</sup> इति सोऽपि<sup>६</sup> (चण्डगिरिकः) कुरुते । तत्-  
सदृशाश्च कारणाः सत्त्वानामारब्धः<sup>७</sup> कारयितुं [सोऽपि तच्चारके]<sup>८</sup> ।

यावच्छ्रावस्त्यामन्यतमः सार्थवाहः<sup>९</sup> पत्न्या सह महासमुद्रमव-  
तीर्णः<sup>१०</sup> । तस्य सा पत्नी महासमुद्रे प्रसूता । दारको जातस्तस्य समुद्र  
इति नामवेयं कृतं ।

यावद् विस्तरेण द्वादशभिर्वर्षैर्महासमुद्रादुत्तीर्णः । स च सार्थ-  
वाहः<sup>११</sup> पञ्चभिर्धूर्तशतैर्मुषितः । सार्थवाहः स प्रघातितः । स च  
समुद्रः सार्थवाहपुत्रो<sup>१२</sup> भगवच्छ्रासने प्रव्रजितः । स जनपदचारिकां  
चरन् पाटलिपुत्रमनुप्राप्तः ।

1-3Chl "Having heard these speeches Girika said to himself: 'In my prison, I too must do thus.'" 2Div. reads: *iyamdu*<sup>०</sup>. 3Div. *pañca-viṣaṭa* (A °ta°) *bandhanām*. 4Div. °se *kīle*. 5=bandhanāḥ. Div. *pañca deva iti*. 6Div. omits *soḥi*. A *iti kurutetsadṛśās cākāraṇāḥ*, C *iti kurute sadṛśās cākāraṇāḥ*, D *iti kuru tatsadṛśās cākāraṇāḥ*, E *itikara tatsadṛśās cākāraṇāḥ* (but corrected to *itikatarat*), B *iti katarat sadṛśāscā- kāraṇāḥ*. 7Div. °*bdhāḥ*. 8Chl "the chief of a family". 9Chl adds: "in search of precious things". 10Chl omits. 11Chl "consequently his son Samudra".

‘स पूर्वाह्ने निवास्य पात्रचीवरमादाय पाटलिपुत्रं पिण्डाय प्रविष्टः’ । सोऽनभिज्ञया’ च रमणीयकं भवनं’ प्रविष्टः । तच्च’ द्वारमात्ररमणीयमभ्यन्तरं नरकभवनसदृशं प्रतिभयं’ दृष्ट्वा च पुन-  
निर्गन्तुकामश्चण्डगिरिकेणावलोकितः’ । गृहीत्वा चोक्तः । इह ते निघनमुपसंगन्तव्यमिति । ‘विस्तरेण कार्यः’ ।

ततो भिक्षुः शोकार्तो वाष्पकण्ठः’ संवृत्तः । तेनोच्यते । किमिदं वालदारक इव रुदसीति’ । स भिक्षुः प्राह ।

न शरीरविनाशं हि भद्र’ शोचामि सर्वशः ।

’मोक्षधर्मान्तरायं तु शोचामि भृशमात्मनः ।

दुर्लभं प्राप्य मानुष्यं प्रव्रज्यां च सुखोदयां ।

शाक्यसिंहं च शास्तारं पुनस्त्यथ्यामि दुर्मतिः ॥

तेनोच्यते । दत्तवरोऽहं नृपतिना । धीरो भव । नास्ति ते मोक्ष इति । ततः सकरुणैर्वचनैस्तं भिक्षुः क्रमं याचति स्म । मासं यावत् । सप्तरात्रमनुजातः’ ।

’स खलु मरणभयोद्विग्नहृदयः सप्तरात्रेण मे न भवितव्यमिति व्यायतमतिः संवृत्तः’ ।

अथ सप्तमे दिवसे’ अशोकस्य राजोऽन्तःपुरिकां’ कुमारेण सह संरक्तां निरीक्ष्यमाणां’ संलपन्तीं च दृष्ट्वा ’सहदर्शनादेव’ रुपितेन

1-2Chl omits. 3Chl adds: *nagarasya*. 4Chl “prison”. 5Chl reads: “and pronounced these words: *dvāramātra*”. 6-7Chl “Then he wished to get out, but Girika did not allow him to do so.” 8-9Chl “You must no more dream of going out.” 10Div. *’ntha-sam*°. 11=*rodīṣīti*. 12Div. omits. 13-14Chl “This is for the fear of losing the benefit of my good actions; for, I left the world and have not yet witnessed the Law and the Way. A human body is difficult to attain. The Law of Buddha is difficult to meet with. It is for this I shed tears.’ Girika said: ‘Formerly, the king authorised me to nevermore allow (anybody) to get out of this and put to death anybody who enters into this enclosure.’ The Bhikṣu said: ‘Allow me to live for seven days; after that if you like to kill me, I shall consent.’ Girika granted this.” 15-17Chl omits. 18Div. *’matī sam*°. 19Div. *’lā*. 20ABCE *’lāgamā*’. Chl omits it.

राज्ञा तौ द्वावपि तं चारकमनुप्रेषितौ । तत्र मूशलैरयोद्रोण्या-  
मस्थ्यवशेषौ कृतौ । ततो भिक्षुस्तौ दृष्ट्वा संविग्नः प्राह<sup>१</sup> ।

अहो कारुणिकः शास्ता सम्यगाह महामुनिः ।

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपमसारमनवस्थितं<sup>२</sup> ॥

क्व तद् वदनकान्तित्वं गात्रशोभा क्व सा गता ।

धिगस्त्वध्यायसंसारं रमन्ते यत्र बालिशाः ॥

इदमालम्बनं प्राप्तं चारके वसता मया ।

यदाश्रित्य तरिष्यामि पारमद्य भवोदधेः<sup>३</sup> ॥

तेन तां रजनीं कृत्स्नां युज्यता<sup>४</sup> बुद्धशासने<sup>५</sup> ।

सर्वसंयोजनं छित्त्वा प्राप्तमर्हत्त्वमुत्तमं<sup>६</sup> ॥

ततस्तस्मिन् रजनिक्षये<sup>७</sup> स भिक्षुश्चण्डगिरिकेणोच्यते ।

“भिक्षो निर्गता रात्रिर् उदित आदित्यः” कारणाकालस्तवेति । ततो  
भिक्षुराह । दीर्घायु<sup>८</sup>र्ममापि निर्गता रात्रिर् उदित आदित्यः परानु-  
ग्रहकाल इति । यथेष्टं वर्ततामिति<sup>९</sup> ।

“चण्डगिरिकः प्राह । नावगच्छामि विस्तीर्यतां वचनमेत-  
दिति<sup>१०</sup> । ततो भिक्षुराह ।

<sup>1</sup>Chl adds: *ramaṇiyakam*. <sup>2-3</sup>Chl “Girika pounded them immediately, striking the heads with a rammer, in such a way that the eye-balls burst out. At such a sight, the Bhikṣu was seized with horror and he said to himself. . .”  
<sup>4</sup>Chl adds: “If (*rūpa*) festers quickly, without allowing us (even) the time for breathing. . .”. <sup>5</sup>BCDE °*nāyam saṃsāro* (E °*re*), A *dhig astu ayaṃ saṃsāro*. Chl *aho saṃsāre'smīn bālīśā ramante*. <sup>6-7</sup>Chl “The Holy Law is not there (in *saṃsāra*). I have been able to discriminate it in this sojourn. I will not sink in the ocean of ‘being (*bhava*)’.” <sup>8</sup>Div. *yam āśrīya tarīyāmi*°. <sup>9</sup>Div. *kṛtsnā yu-*  
<sup>8-9</sup>Chl “passed in contemplation”. <sup>9-10</sup>Chl “He broke all the bonds so that he could realise the Fruit of *srotāpatti* and constantly through his efforts towards perfection. . . he attained to Arhathood.” <sup>11</sup>Chl “seven days having passed”. <sup>12-13</sup>Chl “Seven days have passed. The eighth day is going to dawn.”  
<sup>14</sup>Chl omits it. <sup>15</sup>Chl *it*. “Force me to die, if you wish.” <sup>16-17</sup>Chl “Girika asked, ‘What do you mean by that: My night is past, my Sun has arisen, the hour of the supreme success is come.’”

भ्रमापि हृदयाद् घोरा निर्गता मोहचर्वरी ।  
 पञ्चावरणसंच्छन्ना क्लेशतस्करसेविता ॥  
 उदितो ज्ञानसूर्यश्च मनोनभसि मे शुभः ।  
 प्रभया यस्य पश्यामि त्रैलोक्यमिह तत्त्वतः ॥  
 परानुग्रहकालो मे शास्तुर्दृत्तानुवर्तिनः ।  
 इदं शरीरं दीर्घायुर्यथेष्टं क्रियतामिति ॥

ततस्तेन निर्घृणेन दारुणहृदयेन परलोकनिरपेक्षेण रोपाविष्टेन<sup>१</sup>  
 कायां स्थाल्यां नररुविरवसामूत्रपूरीपसंकुलायां महालोह्यां  
 प्रक्षिप्तः । प्रभूतेन्वनैश्चाग्निः प्रज्वालितः । स च बहुनापीन्वनक्षयेण  
 न संतप्यते । ततः पुनः प्रज्वालयितुं चेष्टते<sup>२</sup> । यदा तस्यापि न  
 प्रज्वलति ततो विचार्य तां लोहीं पश्यति । तं भिक्षुं पद्मस्योपरि  
 पर्यङ्केणोपविष्टं दृष्ट्वा च ततो राज्ञे निवेदयामास<sup>३</sup> । अथ राजनि  
 समागते<sup>४</sup> प्राणिसहस्रेषु संनिपतितेषु स भिक्षुर्वेनेयकालमवेक्षमाणः

<sup>१-२</sup>Chl "I was in the dark night of ignorance. I have completely destroyed for ever, the rebels which were bonds (*samyojana*). That is what signifies 'my night is past.' My spirit cleansed by wisdom (*prajñā*) sees the three worlds clearly. That is what signifies 'my sun has arisen.' Behold, I have completely realized that which Buddha has done. That is what signifies 'the hour of supreme success is come.' May you live long and chastise me as you like." <sup>२</sup>Div. *idañ śarīradirghāyur*. <sup>३-४</sup>Chl *lit*. "Girika, by his cruelty, tortured the innocents. As he did not believe in the life beyond death, his anger became double." <sup>५</sup>Div. *pekṣaṅarosa*. <sup>६</sup>Div. omits. <sup>७</sup>CD *lita*. <sup>८-९</sup>Chl "Thereafter, Girika was angry with those who had lighted the fire and struck them with a stick. He lighted the fire again with his own hand. The fuels without heating further were entirely consumed. Besides, he put fire to the pieces of wood-work, the thatch (?) and the woolen stuff in abundance; he burnt them entirely, but the water remained cold as before. He asked himself in astonishment, why it was so, and looked into the vessel." <sup>१०</sup>Chl adds: *sahasradala*. <sup>११</sup>Chl adds: *bhītabhīta*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl adds: "The king came and in order to enter inside got the wall demolished. All the inhabitants followed the king; and they gazed at the Bhikṣu, by thousand, by *loṣṭi*, by myriads." <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl omits.

१कृद्धिं समुत्पाद्य स तन्मुहूर्तं लोह्यन्तरस्थः सलिलाद्रगात्रः ।  
 निरीक्षमाणस्य जनस्य मध्ये नभस्तलं हंस इवोत्पपात<sup>२</sup> ॥  
 विचित्राणि च प्रातिहार्याणि<sup>३</sup> दर्शयितुमारब्धः । वक्ष्यति<sup>४</sup> हि ।  
 अर्धेन<sup>५</sup> गात्रेण ववर्ष तोयमर्धेन<sup>६</sup> जज्वाल हुताशनश्च ।  
 ७वर्षञ्ज् ज्वलंश्चैव<sup>८</sup> रराज यः खे ९दीप्तौषधिप्रस्रवणेव शैलः<sup>१०</sup> ॥  
 तमुद्गतं व्योम्नि निशाम्य राजा कृताञ्जलिर्विस्मयफुल्लवक्त्रः ।  
 उद्वीक्षमाणस् ११तमुवाच धीरं कौतुहलात् किञ्चिदहं विवक्षुः<sup>१२</sup> ॥  
 मनुष्यतुल्यं तव<sup>१३</sup> सौम्य<sup>१४</sup> रूपमृद्धिप्रभावस्तु नरानतोत्य ।  
 न निश्चयं तेन विभो ब्रजामि को नाम भावस्तव शुद्धभाव<sup>१५</sup> ॥  
 तत् साम्प्रतं ब्रूहि ममेदमर्थं यथा प्रजानामि तव प्रभावं ।  
 ज्ञात्वा च ते धर्मगुणप्रभावान् यथाबलं शिष्यवदाचरेम<sup>१६</sup> ॥  
 ततो भिक्षुः प्रवचनपरिग्राहकोऽयं भविष्यति भगवद्धातुं च  
 विस्तरीकरिष्यति<sup>१७</sup> महाजनहितार्थं च प्रतिपत्स्यत इति मत्वा  
 स्वगुणमुद्भावायं<sup>१८</sup>स्तम् उवाच ।

अहं महाकारुणिकस्य राजन् प्रहीणसर्वास्रववन्धनस्य ।

बुद्धस्य पुत्रो वदतां वरस्य धर्मान्वयः सर्वंभवेष्वसक्तः<sup>१९</sup> ॥

1-2Chl "The Bhikṣu went out of the vessel without a stain on his dress. In the immense crowd there was none who did not see him. He soared into the sky and . . .". 3Div. *prāṇihā*<sup>०</sup>. 4Chl *pūrvārdhena gātreṇa*. 5Chl *uttarā*<sup>०</sup>. 6-7Chl omits. 8Chl "like a great glittering mountain". 9-10Chl "He spoke these words." 11Chl *asya bhikṣoḥ*. 12Div. *°bhāvaḥ*. 12-13Chl reads these three lines: "He has soared into the sky and manifested a great supernatural power! I have not yet understood, but I aspire after the good prediction. Could I know the holy things which you share; I would make efforts for those according to my strength and capacity." 14Div. *°starim kari*<sup>०</sup>. 15Div. *°bhāvayantam*. 13-16Chl "At that moment the Bhikṣu recognised that king Aśoka was a great *dānaḥpati*, who shall certainly have the power of distributing the relics of Buddha for the benefit of gods and human beings. (The Bhikṣu spoke thus) Buddha has said: 'I am the great compassionate one who breaks bonds. Those who are the sons of Buddha according to the Law, in the three catagories of existence, obtain deliverance.'"



दान्तेन दान्तः पुरुषर्षभेन<sup>१</sup> शान्तिं गतेनापि शमं प्रणीतः<sup>२</sup> ।

मुक्तेन संसारमहाभयेभ्यो निर्मोक्षितोऽहं भवन्वनेभ्यः<sup>३</sup> ॥

अपि च महाराज त्वं भगवता व्याकृतः । वर्षशतपरिनिवृतस्य<sup>४</sup>

मम पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम राजा भविष्यति । चतुर्भागीचक्रवर्ती  
धर्मराजो यो मे शरीरघातून्<sup>५</sup> वैस्तारिकान् करिष्यति । चतुरशीति-  
धर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति । इदं च देवेन नरकसदृशं स्थान-  
मेव स्थापितं यत्र प्राणिसहस्राणि निपात्यन्ते । तदर्हसि देव सर्वसत्त्वेभ्यो-  
ऽभयप्रदानं दातुं भगवतश्च<sup>६</sup> मनोरथं परिपूरयितुम् । आह<sup>७</sup> च ।

तस्मान् नरेन्द्र अभयं प्रयच्छ सत्त्वेषु कारुण्यपुरोजवेषु ।

नाथस्य संपूर्य मनोरथं च वैस्तारिकान् वर्मवरान् कुरुष्व<sup>८</sup> ॥

अथ स राजा बुद्धे समुपजातप्रसादः कृतकरसंपुटस्तं<sup>९</sup> भिक्षुं

क्षमयन्नुवाच ।

दशबलनुत क्षन्तुमर्हसीमं<sup>१०</sup> कुकृतमिदं च तवाद्य देवयामि ।

शरणमृपिमुपैमि तं च बुद्धं गणवरमार्यनिवेदितं च वर्म ॥

अपि<sup>११</sup> च ।

करोमि चैप व्यवसायमद्य<sup>१२</sup> तद्गौरवात् तत्प्रवणप्रसादान् ।

गां मण्डयिष्यामि जिनेन्द्रचैत्यैर्हसांशुशङ्खेन्दुबलाककल्पैः<sup>१३</sup> ॥

यावत् स भिक्षुस्तदैव<sup>१४</sup> ऋद्ध्या प्रक्रान्तः । अथ राजाऽरुच्यो निष्क्रा-

मितुं । ततश्चण्डगिरिकः कृताञ्जलिर्<sup>१५</sup> उवाच । देव लब्धवरोऽहं नैकस्य

विनिर्गम इति । राजाऽहं । मा<sup>१६</sup> तावन्<sup>१७</sup> । "मामर्षीच्छसि धानयितुं ।

स उवाच । एवमेव ।

राजाऽह । कोऽस्माकं प्रथमतरं प्रविष्टः ।

चण्डगिरिक उवाच । अहं ।

ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । 'कोऽत्रेति ।

यावद् वध्यघातैर्गृहीतः । गृहीत्वा च यन्त्रगृहं प्रवेशितः ।  
प्रवेशयित्वा दग्धः<sup>१</sup> । तच्च रमणीयकं बन्धनमपनीतं । सर्वसत्त्वे-  
भ्यश्चाभयप्रदानमनुप्रदत्तं ॥

ततो राजा 'भगवच्छरीरधातुं विस्तरिष्यामीति चतुरङ्गेण बल-  
कायेन<sup>२</sup> गत्वाऽजातशत्रुप्रतिष्ठापितं 'द्रोणस्तूपमुत्पाट्य<sup>३</sup> शरीरधातुं  
गृहीतवान् । यत्र 'उद्धारणं च विस्तरेण कृत्वा धातुप्रत्यंशं दत्त्वा'  
स्तूपं प्रत्यस्थापयत्<sup>४</sup> । एवं द्वितीयं 'स्तूपं विस्तरेण । भक्तिमतो  
यावत् सप्तद्रोणाद् ग्रहाय स्तूपांश्च प्रतिष्ठाप्य<sup>५</sup> रामग्रामं गतः<sup>६</sup> ।

'ततो राजा नागैर्नागभवनमवतारितः । विज्ञप्तश्च<sup>७</sup> ।  
वयमस्य [शरीरधातोः] अत्रैव पूजां करिष्याम इति । यावद् राज्ञा-  
भ्यनुज्ञातं ।

ततो नागराजेन<sup>८</sup> पुनरपि नागभवनादुत्तारितः । वक्ष्यति हि ।

रामग्रामेऽस्ति<sup>९</sup> त्वष्टमं स्तूपमद्य

नागास्तत्कालं भक्तिमन्तो ररक्षुः ।

'धातूनेतस्मान् नोपलेभे स राजा

श्रद्धालू<sup>१०</sup> राजा यस्त्वकृत्वा जगाम<sup>११</sup> ॥

1-2Ch1 reads: "As you have entered first, you must undergo (submit to) punishment.' Then the king ordered his people to arrest Girika and lead him to the 'torture-hall' ('hall of glue'; Ch2 'house of lac') to burn him alive." 3-4Ch1 simply *rājagrham*. 5-6Ch1 "four *sheng* (litre or pint)". 6Div. °*pātyā*. 7-8Ch1 "a big". 9Div. *pratiṣṭhāpya*. 10-11Ch1 *dvitīyāt tṛtīyād vistareṇa yāvat saptaṃ sarvaṃ (śarīra-dhātum) gṛhītavān*. 12Ch1 adds: "the abode of Nāgarāja Sāgara, with an intention to take the relics." 14AC *vijñaptiś ca*. 15Div. °*rājā*. 16Div. omits it. 17Div. *dhātūnye*°. 18Div. °*bhū*. Div. adds: *cintayati* after *rājā*. 19ABD *yastvaṃ tatkrtvā*°, C *yastvatatkrtvā*°. 13-19Ch1 reads: "Then the Nāgarāja appeared and invited the king to enter into his palace, The king descended from his boat and entered into the palace of the Nāgarāja. The

ध्यावद् राजा चतुरशीतिकरण्डसहस्रं कारयित्वा सीवर्णरूप्य-  
स्फटिकवैदूर्यमयाणां तेषु घातवः प्रक्षिप्ताः । एवं विस्तरेण चतुर-

Nāga said to the king, 'Allow me to make offerings to these (relics), and do not take them away from me.' The king having seen that the Nāgarāja presented them (relics) offerings two times more weighty than those of human beings, abstained from taking the relics and left them behind." Ch2 reads: "The king having made a plan to construct the *stūpas* of Buddha, in grand style, assembled the *caturaṅga* army and went to the *stūpa* named Droṇa erected by king Ajātaśatru. Having reached there he demolished the *stūpa* with the help of his men and took the relics of Buddha. Similarly, he demolished (other) *stūpas*, successively (one by one) up to the seventh. He took all the relics. Then he went to the village called Rāma. In that village he found a *stūpa* which was erected before all the others. This too the king wished to destroy and take the relics. But there was a Nāgarāja who made Aśoka enter his palace of Nāga and said to him, 'This is the *stūpa* to which I bring my offerings; may the king allow it to stand.' The king consented and the Nāgarāja guided the king to the village of Rāma. Then the king said to himself: 'This *stūpa* is (erected) the first of all, and so the Nāgarāja redoubles his zeal to guard it. I will not obtain relics from this *stūpa*.' Thinking thus, he returned to his kingdom."

<sup>1</sup>Ch1 reads: "Returning to his palace, the king made 84 thousand precious caskets. He decorated them with gold, silver, and *vaidūrya* (cat's-eye gem). In each precious casket, he enclosed one relic. Besides, he made 84 thousand pitchers (*kumbha*) and 84 thousand silken bands (*paṭṭa*) of various colours to cover them. He gave each relic to a *yakṣa* for the full extent of Jambudvīpa, to construct a *stūpa* in each country inhabited by a population of one crore. Thereupon the spirits carried all the relics and departed towards the four directions, to construct the *stūpas*. A *yakṣa* who had received one relic arrived at the kingdom of Takṣaśilā where he wished to erect a *stūpa*.

"The inhabitants of the kingdom said, 'The population of our kingdom is 36 crores in total . . . You must give us 36 caskets.' Then the *yakṣa* and the spirits went back to inform the king of what had happened. The king said to himself: 'The people are greatly numerous. If we proceed in this way, the relics will not be sufficient for all Jambudvīpa. I must find out a means to discontinue the distribution.'

"Then he ordered the *yakṣa* to go back to tell the people: '35 crores of people in your kingdom are going to be annihilated. Only one crore of them will remain to whom we shall give one relic.'

शीतिकुम्भमहन्नं पट्टसहस्रं च यक्षाणां हस्ते दत्त्वा विसर्जितम् ।  
आसमुद्रायां पृथिव्यां हीनोत्कृष्टमव्यमेपु नगरेषु यत्र कोटिः परि-  
पूर्यते तत्र धर्मराजिका<sup>१</sup> प्रतिष्ठापयितव्या<sup>२</sup> ।

तस्मिन् समये तक्षशिलायां पट्टत्रिंशत् कोटयः । तैरभिहितं ।  
पट्टत्रिंशत् करण्डकाननप्रयच्छेति । राजा चिन्तयति । न यदि वैस्तारिका  
वातत्रो भविष्यन्ति । उपायजो राजा । तेनाभिहितं । पञ्च-  
त्रिंशत् कोटयः शोषयितव्याः । विस्तरेण यावद् राज्ञा<sup>३</sup>ऽभिहितं ।  
यत्राधिकतरा भवन्ति यत्र च न्यूनतरा तत्र न दातव्यं<sup>४</sup> ।

‘यावद् राजा कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा स्वविरयवासमभिगम्य’  
उवाच । अयं मे मनोरथः । एकस्मिन् दिवसे एकस्मिन् मूहूर्ते चतुर-  
शीतिधर्मराजिकामहन्नं प्रतिष्ठापयेयमिति । स्वविरयेणाभिहितम् । एव-  
मस्तु<sup>५</sup> । अहं तस्मिन् समये पाणिना मूर्धमण्डलं प्रतिच्छादयिष्यामीति<sup>६</sup> ।

“The inhabitants of the kingdom said, “We shall prefer to dispense with the 36 caskets. One alone will give us satisfaction. Do not put us to death.’ Then it was done as they desired. They were given only one casket.”

Ch2 reads: “(The king) said: ‘There are three kinds of kingdoms: the small, the middle and the big. If a kingdom pour out one crore ounces of gold, a royal *stūpa* is to be erected there.’ Now, the kingdom of Takṣaśilā poured out 36 crore ounces of gold. The inhabitants of that kingdom said to king Aśoka, ‘O king, you must give us thirty-six boxes.’ Hearing this the king reflected thus: ‘I wish that the *stūpas* of Buddha be erected everywhere in a magnificent way. Is it proper that this kingdom should heap up *stūpas* in such a great number ?”

“Then the king had recourse to a simple procedure. He said to the people, ‘We are going to confiscate 35 crore ounces of gold from you.’ And he added: ‘Henceforth, that a kingdom may have much of *stūpas* or it may have less, I order, in no case one should offer me gold (in order to obtain them in greater number).”

<sup>१</sup>Div. reads: *kām*. <sup>२</sup>Div. *vyam*. <sup>३</sup>Div. reads: *rājā*. <sup>४</sup>Div. *bhūna*.  
<sup>५</sup>Ch read the above passage. <sup>६</sup>Ch1 adds: “having uttered these words”. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 adds: *kṛtāñjalir*. <sup>७-८</sup>Ch1 reads: “‘I wish to construct now 24 thousand precious *stūpas* in Jambudvīpa.’ The Śhāvira replied, ‘That’s good, that’s good. O king, if you wish to have power to construct (all) the *stūpas*, at the same time....’” <sup>९</sup>Ch1 adds: “Let the order be given all over the king-

‘यावत् तस्मिन् दिवसे’ स्थविरयशसा पाणिना सूर्यमण्डलं प्रति-  
च्छादितं । एकस्मिन् दिवसे’ एकमुहूर्ते’ चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं  
प्रतिष्ठापितं । वक्ष्यति’ च ।

ताभ्यः सप्तभ्यः पूर्विकाभ्यः कृतिभ्यो

धातुं तस्यर्षेः स ह्युपादाय मीर्येः<sup>१</sup> ।

चक्रे स्तूपानां शारदाभ्रप्रभाणां

लोके साशीति ह्यह्नि चातुःसहस्रं<sup>२</sup> ॥

यावच्च राजाऽशोकेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं  
धार्मिको धर्मराजा’ संवृत्तस्तस्य धर्माशोक इति संज्ञा जाता ।  
वक्ष्यति च ।

‘आर्यो मीर्यश्रीः स प्रजानां हितार्थं

कृत्स्ने’<sup>३</sup> स्तूपान् यः कारयामास लोके’<sup>४</sup> ।

चण्डाशोकत्वं प्राप्य पूर्वं पृथिव्यां

धर्माशोकत्वं कर्मणा तेन लेभे’<sup>५</sup> ॥

‘पांशुप्रदानावदानं पड्विंशतिमं’<sup>६</sup> ।

dom, that when I shall cover the sun with my hand, at the  
same moment all be engaged with the construction of the  
stūpas.”

<sup>१</sup>-<sup>२</sup>ChI “afterwards”. <sup>३</sup>ChI *jambudvīpe ekasmin samaye*. <sup>४</sup>ABC  
<sup>५</sup>*ryān*. <sup>६</sup>Div. *Sāradabhra*. <sup>७</sup>Div. *śīti śāsad ahnō sahasram*.  
<sup>८</sup>-*rājah*. <sup>९</sup>Div. *ārya*. <sup>१०</sup>Div. *tsam*. <sup>११</sup>Div. reads: *stūpān*  
*kārayāmāsa lokāś*. <sup>१२</sup>-<sup>१३</sup>ChI reads: “When they were con-  
structed entirely, the whole population gave the king the  
name of ‘Dharmāśoka (Aśoka of the Right Law)’. He could  
spread over the world peace and prosperity. He erected *stūpas*  
and temples all over the territories of the kingdom. The good  
could prosper. His name as ‘cruel (Candāśoka)’ disappeared  
and the whole world called him ‘the king of the Right Law  
(Dharmāśoka)’.” <sup>१४</sup>D adds *iti śāśītyāśokine*. <sup>१५</sup>D omits. AB  
<sup>१६</sup>*tīmah*. C: *śāśītyāśokine*.

## वीतशोकावदानं

यदा राज्ञाऽशोकेन भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा तेन चतुरशीति-  
धर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं । पञ्चवार्षिकं च कृतं । त्रीणि शत-  
सहस्राणि भिक्षूणां भोजितानि । यत्रैकम् अर्हतां द्वे<sup>३</sup> शैक्षाणां पृथग्जन-  
कल्याणकानां च । <sup>३</sup>आसमुद्रायां पृथिव्यां जनकाया यद्भूयसा भगवच्छा-  
सनेऽभिप्रसन्नाः<sup>४</sup> ।

तस्य<sup>५</sup> भ्राता वीतशोको<sup>६</sup> नाम तीर्थ्याभिप्रसन्नः । स तीर्थ्यै-  
विग्राहितः<sup>७</sup>, नास्ति श्रमणशाक्यपुत्रीयाणां मोक्ष इति<sup>८</sup> । एते हि  
सुखाभिरताः, परिखेदभीरवश्चेति ।

यावद्राज्ञाशोकेनोच्यते । वीतशोक मा त्वं<sup>९</sup> हीनायतने प्रसादमु-  
त्पादय । अपि तु बुद्धधर्मसङ्घे प्रसादमुत्पादय । एष आयतनगतः प्रसाद  
इति ।

अथ राजाऽशोकोऽपरेण समयेन<sup>१०</sup> मृगवधाय निर्गतः । तत्र  
“वीतशोकेनाऽरण्ये <sup>११</sup>ऋषिर्दृष्टः । पञ्चातपेनावस्थितः । स च कण्ट-  
तपःसारसंज्ञी । <sup>१२</sup>तेनाऽभिगम्य पादाभिवन्दनं कृत्वा स ऋषिः पृष्ठः ।  
भगवन् कियच्चिरं ते इहारण्ये प्रतिवसतः<sup>१३</sup> । स उवाच । द्वादश-  
वर्षाणीति । वीतशोकः कथयति । कस्तवाहारः । ऋषिरुवाच । फल-  
मूलानि । किं प्रावरणं । दर्भचीवराणि । का शय्या । तृणसंस्तरः<sup>१४</sup> ।  
वीतशोक उवाच । भगवन् किं दुःखं वाधते<sup>१५</sup> । ऋषिरुवाच । इमे

<sup>१</sup>M8 °kārha°. Div. °ko'rha°. <sup>२</sup>M8 & Div. read: *dvau*. <sup>३</sup>M8 & Div. omit ā. <sup>४</sup>Ch1 omits this paragraph. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 “the younger brother of king Aśoka”. <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. °konāmā. Ch1 reads the name as: *hsü tā to, Sudatta ? Ch2 vīta*°. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 adds: “and mocked at the Law of Buddha. He uttered these words.” <sup>८</sup>Ch1 adds: “King Aśoka spoke to Sudatta, ‘What do you know of them ?’ Suddatta replied, ‘Because’....” <sup>९</sup>Div. *tvam anā*°. <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 adds: *sudattena saha*. <sup>११</sup>Ch1 *tābhyām*. <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 “Brāhmaṇa”. <sup>१३</sup>Ch1 adds: “Sudatta expressed a sentiment of faith and respect.” <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 *lit. tapasyataḥ*. <sup>१५</sup>M8 & Div. °ram. <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 “What is the most painful (act) of all that you do now ?”

मृगा ऋतुकाले संवसन्ति । यदा मृगाणां संवासो दृष्टो भवति तस्मिन् समये रागेण परिदह्यामि ।

वीतशोक उवाच । अस्य कण्ठेन तपसा [वर्तमानस्य] रागो-  
ज्यापि वाधते<sup>१</sup> प्रागेव । श्रमणाः शाक्यपुत्रीयाः स्वास्तीर्णासनशयनोप-  
सेविनः । कुत एपां रागप्रहाणं भविष्यति । आह च<sup>२</sup> ।

कण्ठेऽस्मिन् विजने वने निवसता<sup>३</sup> वाय्वम्बुमूलाशिना<sup>४</sup>

रागो नैव जितो यदीह ऋषिणा कालप्रकर्षेण हि ।

भुक्त्वान्नं सघृतं प्रभूतपिशितं दध्युत्तमालङ्कृतं

शाक्येष्विन्द्रियनिग्रहो यदि भवेद् विन्ध्यः प्लवेत् सागरे<sup>५</sup> ॥

सर्वथा वञ्चितो राजाऽशोको यच्छ्रमणेषु शाक्यपुत्रीयेषु कारां करोति ।

एतच्च वचनं श्रुत्वा राजा उपायज्ञोऽमात्यान् उवाच । अयं वीतशोकस्तीर्थ्याभिप्रसन्नः<sup>६</sup> । उपायेन भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादयितव्यः<sup>७</sup> ।

अमात्या आहुः । देव किमाज्ञापयसि<sup>८</sup> । राजाऽह् । यदा<sup>९</sup>ऽहं राजालङ्कारं मीलिलि<sup>१०</sup>पट्टं चापनयित्वा स्नानशालां<sup>११</sup> प्रविष्टो भवामि, तदा यूयं वीतशोकस्य उपायेन मीलिलि<sup>१२</sup>-पट्टं च बद्ध्वा [एनं] सिंहासने निपादयिष्यथ । एवमस्त्विति<sup>१३</sup> ।

यावद् राजा राजालङ्कारं मीलिलि<sup>१४</sup>पट्टं चापनयित्वा<sup>१५</sup> स्नानशालायां प्रविष्टः<sup>१६</sup> । ततोऽमात्यैर्वीतशोक उच्यते । राजोऽशोकस्यात्ययात्

<sup>१</sup>M8 & Div. read: *bādhyate* (A °*dhate*). Chl omits this sentence. <sup>२</sup>-<sup>३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. °*tām*. <sup>५</sup>M8 & Div. °*nām*. <sup>६</sup>Chl reads: "You cover your body with wretched garments; you nourish yourself with poor nourishment and still you have lust! The Śākya-putra Sramaṇas who cover the body with beautiful dresses and nourish it with good food, how can they be free from lust?" <sup>७</sup>Chl omits. <sup>८</sup>Chl omits this sentence. <sup>९</sup>Chl adds: *mal'yaś ca puṣpāyitarajah*. <sup>१०</sup>Chl "We shall do what the king orders." <sup>११</sup>M8 & Div. *yathā*. <sup>१२</sup>Div. *līm*. <sup>१३</sup>Div. AB *snānaśālā*. <sup>१४</sup>M8 & Div. *līm*. <sup>१५</sup>-<sup>१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७</sup>Chl adds: "He redressed himself with a bath-costume." <sup>१८</sup>Chl adds: "and bathed."

त्वं राजा भविष्यसि । इमं तावद्राजालङ्कारं<sup>१</sup> प्रवरमौलि<sup>२</sup>पट्टं<sup>३</sup> च बद्ध्वा<sup>४</sup>  
[त्वां] सिंहासने निपादयिष्यामः<sup>५</sup> । किं शोभसे न वेदति ।

[स] तैस्तदाभरणं<sup>६</sup> मौलि<sup>७</sup>पट्टं<sup>८</sup> च बद्ध्वा सिंहासने निपादितः ।  
राज्ञश्च निवेदितं<sup>९</sup> ।

ततो राजाऽशोको वीतशोकं राजालङ्कारभौलिपट्टवद्धं<sup>१०</sup> च  
सिंहासनोपविष्टं दृष्ट्वा कथयति । अद्याप्यहं जीवामि, त्वं राजा  
संवृत्तः । ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । कोऽत्र ।

ततो<sup>११</sup> यावद् वध्यघातका नीलाम्बरवासिनः<sup>१२</sup> प्रलम्बकेश  
घण्टाशब्दपाणयो राज्ञः पादयोर्निपत्योचुः<sup>१३</sup> । देव किमाज्ञापयसि ।

राजाऽह ।

वीतशोको मया परित्यक्त<sup>१४</sup> इति ।

यावद् वीतशोक उच्यते । “सशस्त्रैर्वध्यघातैरस्माभिः परिवृतो-  
ऽसीति । ततोऽमात्या राज्ञः<sup>१५</sup> पादयोर्निपत्य<sup>१६</sup> ऊचुः । देव<sup>१७</sup> मर्षय  
वीतशोकं । देवस्यैष भ्राता<sup>१८</sup> ।

ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । सप्ताहमस्य मर्षयामि<sup>१९</sup> । भ्राता चैष मम ।  
भ्रातुः स्नेहादस्य<sup>२०</sup> सप्ताहं राज्यं प्रयच्छामि<sup>२१</sup> ।

यावत् तूर्यशतानि संप्रवादितानि<sup>२२</sup> । जयशब्दैश्चानन्दितं ।  
प्राणिशतसहस्रैश्चाञ्जलिः कृतः<sup>२३</sup> । स्त्रीशतैश्च परिवृतः ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits *alam*°. <sup>२</sup>Div. °*lim*. <sup>३</sup>Chl *badhnihi*. <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. °*ṣida*°. <sup>५-६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. °*ṇamau*°. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl “Sudatta followed their advice and being thus decorated, he sat on the royal throne.” <sup>७</sup>Chl adds: “The king came out of the bath-room.” <sup>८</sup>M8 °*ram maulipattam*°. Div. °*ram*°. <sup>९</sup>Chl omits this compound. <sup>१०-१२</sup>Chl “Then there appeared the Caṇḍālas holding swords in one hand and bells in the other. They approached the king and asked....” <sup>११</sup>M8 °*vāsināh*. Div. °*vāsanāh*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl adds: “I give him to you to punish.” M8 *vītaśoka mayā*°. <sup>१३</sup>M8 omits *sa*. Chl omits this and the preceding sentence. <sup>१४-१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl “Sudatta is king’s own brother. Be pleased to allow him to repent and correct his faults.” <sup>१९</sup>Chl “I comply with your opinions.” <sup>२०-२१</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२०</sup>M8 *bhrātāsnehāmayād asya*. <sup>२१</sup>Chl adds: “Then he will be put to death.” <sup>२२</sup>Div. C *saṃpraco*°. <sup>२३-२४</sup>Chl “During these seven days, he was entertained with a hundred thousand tunces of music. A hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas praised him with folded hands.” After this it reads: *strīśatasahasraś ca*°.



श्रुत्वा घण्टारवं घोरं नीलाम्बरधरस्य हि ।  
 भयं मे मरणाज्जातं पार्थिवेन्द्र सुदारुणं ॥  
 मृत्युशल्यपरीतोऽहं नाश्रौषं<sup>३</sup> गीतमुत्तमं ।  
 नाद्राक्षं नृपते नृत्यं न च भोक्तुं मनःस्पृहा ॥  
 मृत्युज्वरगृहीतस्य न मे स्वप्नोऽपि विद्यते ।  
 कृत्स्ना मे रजनी याता<sup>४</sup> मृत्युमेवानुचिन्ततः<sup>५</sup> ॥

राजाऽह । वीतशोक । मा तावत् । तवैकजन्मिकस्य मरण-  
 भयात् तव राजश्रियं प्राप्य हर्षो नोत्पन्नः । किं पुनर्भिक्षवो ये<sup>६</sup> जन्मशत-  
 मरणभयभीताः सर्वाण्युपपन्थायतनानि दुःखान्यनुसृतानि पश्यन्ति<sup>७</sup> ।  
 नरके तावच्छरीरसंतापकृतमग्निदाहदुःखं च<sup>८</sup> तिर्यक्ष्वन्योन्यभक्षणपरि-  
 त्नासदुःखं, प्रेतेषु क्षुत्तर्षदुःखं ।<sup>९</sup> पर्येष्टिसमुदाचारदुःखं<sup>१०</sup> मनुष्येषु ।  
 च्यवनपतनभ्रंशदुःखं देवेषु । एभिः पञ्चभिः<sup>११</sup> दुःखैस्त्रैलोक्यमनुपक्तं<sup>१२</sup>,  
 शारीरमानसैर्दुःखैरुत्पीडिता वधकभूतान् स्कन्धान् पश्यन्ति । शून्य-  
 ग्रामभूतान्यायतनानि, चौरभूतानि विषयाणि कृत्स्नं च त्रैधातुकमनि-  
 त्याग्निना प्रदीप्तं पश्यन्ति ।<sup>१३</sup> तेषां रागः कथमुत्पद्यते । आह च ।

<sup>१४</sup> तावदेकजन्मिकस्य मरणभयात्तव न जायते हर्षः ।  
 मनसि विपर्यैर्मनोज्ञैः सततं खलु पच्यमानस्य ॥  
 किं पुनर्जन्मशतानां मरणभयमनागतं विचिन्तयतां ।  
 मनसि भविष्यति हर्षो भिक्षूणां भोजनाद्येषु<sup>१५</sup> ॥

Because I have seen the Caṇḍālas brandishing swords crying, 'One day you reign; and six days remain for you.' Everyday they spoke thus, till the seventh day."

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>२</sup>M8 & Div. °*sid*. Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>३</sup>M8 & Div. *jātā*. <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. °*cintayan*. Chl adds: "What then was my happiness?" <sup>५</sup>M8 & Div. omit *ye*. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl reads: "They contemplate on the ills that afflict us—birth, old age, disease, and death." <sup>८</sup>M8 *tiryagyo[nāva]nyonyo*. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl "eight kinds of ills". <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>११</sup>M8 & Div. *anuśaktam*. M8 *śarira*. <sup>१२-१४</sup>Chl reads: "All is impermanent, suffering, void and without any personality (*anityam, dukkham, śūnyam, anātman*). Then, can you say that the Śākya° Śramaṇas are incapable of practising austerity and attaining deliverance?" <sup>१३</sup>Div. & M8 add *mā*.

तेषां न<sup>१</sup> वस्त्रशयनासनभोजनादि<sup>२</sup> मोक्षेऽभियुक्तमनसां जनयेत्<sup>३</sup> सङ्गं ।  
पश्यन्ति ये वधकरात्रुनिभं शरीरमादीप्तवेरमसदृशांश्च भवाननित्यान्<sup>४</sup> ॥

कथं च तेषां न भवेद् विमोक्षो मोक्षार्थिनां<sup>५</sup> जन्मपराङ्मुखाणां ।

येषां मनः सर्वसुखाश्रयेषु व्यावर्तते पद्मदलादिवाम्भः<sup>६</sup> ॥

यदा वीतरशोको राजाऽशोकेनोपायेन भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादितः<sup>७</sup>  
स कृतकरपुट उवाच । देव<sup>८</sup> एषोऽहं तं भगवन्तं तथागतमर्हन्तं सम्यक्-  
संबुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि । धर्मं च भिक्षुसङ्घं<sup>९</sup> चेति । आह च<sup>१०</sup> ।

एष ब्रजामि शरणं विदुद्धनवकमलविमलनिभनेत्रं ।

बुधविदुधमनुजमहितं जितं<sup>११</sup> विरागं<sup>१२</sup> सङ्घं<sup>१३</sup> चेति ॥

अथ राजाऽशोको वीतरशोकं कण्ठे परिष्वज्योवाच । न<sup>१४</sup> त्वं  
मया परित्यक्तः । अपि तु<sup>१५</sup> बुद्धशासनाभि<sup>१६</sup>प्रसादार्थं तव मया एष  
उपायः प्रदर्शितः<sup>१७</sup> ।

ततो वीतरशोको गन्धपुष्पमाल्यादिवादित्रसमुदयेन<sup>१८</sup> भगवत्स्वै-  
त्यानर्चयति<sup>१९</sup> । सद्धर्मं च शृणोति । सङ्घे च कारां कुस्ते ।

स<sup>२०</sup> कुक्कुटारामं गतः । तत्र यशो नाम स्थविरः अर्हन्<sup>२१</sup>  
षडभिज्ञः<sup>२२</sup> । स तस्य पुरतो निषण्णो धर्मश्रवणाय । स्थविरश्च तमव-  
लोकयितुमारब्धः<sup>२३</sup> ।

<sup>२४</sup>स पश्यति वीतरशोकमुपचितहेतुकं चरमभविकं तेनैवाश्रयेना-  
र्हत्त्वं<sup>२५</sup> प्राप्तव्यं । तेन तस्य प्रब्रज्याया वर्णो भाषितः । तस्य श्रुत्वा

<sup>१</sup>MS reads *nu*. Div. *tu*. <sup>२</sup>MS & Div. AC <sup>३</sup>*nādyā*. <sup>४</sup>Div. AB <sup>५</sup>*yecc*,  
G <sup>६</sup>*ye ca*, D <sup>७</sup>*ye*. MS <sup>८</sup>*yet*. <sup>९</sup>Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>१०</sup>Chl *bhoga-vimukhā-*  
*nām*. MS *kāṣṭhā ca teṣāṃ ca bhared*. <sup>११</sup>Chl "The mind of the  
Śramaṇa is not polluted by the objects of pleasure, just as  
water does not get attached to lotus flower [leaf?]." <sup>१२</sup>Chl  
"King Aśoka instructed Sudatta in every way." <sup>१३</sup>Chl reads  
simply: "Great king, now I take refuge in the *triratna* (the  
Three Jewels)." <sup>१४</sup>Div. & MS *jīna*. <sup>१५</sup>Div. & MS add: *ca*. <sup>१६</sup>Chl  
omits. <sup>१७</sup>MS & Div. ABC <sup>१८</sup>*śāśā abh*. <sup>१९</sup>Chl adds: "Certainly  
I will not put you to death." <sup>२०</sup>Chl *gandha-puṣṭāḥ byām*. <sup>२१</sup>Div.  
*ārca*. <sup>२२</sup>MS & Div. *karīṣṭ*. <sup>२३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२४</sup>Chl omits this sen-  
tence. <sup>२५</sup>Chl adds: "Then Yaśaḥ contemplated on the former  
existences of Sudatta." <sup>२६</sup>Chl *nirāṅgaṃ*.

स्पृहा<sup>१</sup> जाता<sup>१</sup> । प्रव्रजेयं भगवच्छासने । तत उत्थाय कृताञ्जलिः  
स्थविरमुवाच । लभेयमहं<sup>२</sup> स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये प्रव्रज्यामुपसंपदं  
भिक्षुभावं चरेयमहं भवतोऽन्तिके ब्रह्मचर्यं । स्थविर उवाच । वत्स ।  
राजानमशोकमनुज्ञापयस्वैति ।

ततो वीतशोको येन राजाऽशोकस्तेनोपसंक्रम्य कृताञ्जलि-  
स्वाच । देव अनुजानीहि मां । प्रव्रजिष्यामि स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये  
सम्यगेव श्रद्धयाऽगारादनागारिकां । आह च<sup>३</sup> ।

उद्भ्रान्तोऽस्मि निरंकुशो गज इव व्यावर्तितो<sup>४</sup> विभ्रमात्<sup>५</sup>

त्वद्बुद्धिप्रभवांकुशेन विधिवद् बुद्धोपदेशैर्<sup>६</sup> अहं ।

एकं<sup>७</sup> त्वर्हसि मे वरं प्रवरितुं<sup>८</sup> त्वं पार्थिवानां पते

लोकालोकवरस्य शासनवरे लिङ्गं शुभं धारये<sup>९</sup> ॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा साश्रुकण्ठो<sup>१०</sup> वीतशोकं<sup>११</sup> कण्ठे<sup>१२</sup> परिष्वज्योवाच ।  
वीतशोक । अलमनेन व्यवसायेन । प्रव्रज्या खलु वैवर्णिकाभ्युपगता<sup>१३</sup>,  
वासः पांशुकूलं ।

प्रावरणं<sup>१४</sup> परिजनोज्झितम् । आहारो भैक्षं परकुले<sup>१५</sup> । शयना-  
सनं<sup>१६</sup> वृक्षमूले तृणसंस्तरः पर्णसंस्तरः । व्यावाधे खल्वपि<sup>१७</sup> भैषज्यम-  
सुलभं । पूतिमुक्तं<sup>१८</sup> च भोजनं<sup>१९</sup> । त्वं च सुकुमारः शीतोष्ण-  
क्षुत्पिपासानां दुःखानामसहिष्णुः । प्रसीद निवर्तय मानसं ।

वीतशोक उवाच । देव ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl reads: "transported with joy". <sup>२</sup>Div. & M8 *labheyāham*°. <sup>३</sup>M8 *bhagavato*. <sup>४-५</sup>Chl "Then Sudatta went to tell the king, 'Great king, permit me to leave the world.'" <sup>६</sup>Chl "I have been made submissive and docile." <sup>७</sup>Chl omits it. <sup>८</sup>Div. *ekam* (D *evam*) *tvam*°, M8 *ekatvam*°. <sup>९</sup>Div. & M8 *pradarśitum*. <sup>१०</sup>M8 & Div. *dhārayet*. <sup>११-१२</sup>Chl "Condescend to express your great compassion by permitting me to embrace the religious life where the Great light (*ālokavara*) is glittering." <sup>१३</sup>M8 *kaṅṭhe*. <sup>१४</sup>M8 omits. <sup>१५</sup>Chl "to live in the same manner as the people of low rank". <sup>१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl "For nourishment, one has to beg for the remains of food (eaten by somebody)." <sup>१९</sup>M8 *śayyā*° (in-  
distinct). Div. *cchānāsanaṃ*. <sup>२०-२१</sup>Chl "to take care of oneself with repulsive medicine". <sup>२२</sup>M8 & Div. *dhūti*°.

नैवाहं तन्न जाने न<sup>१</sup> विषयतृषितो नायासविहतः  
 प्रव्रज्यां प्राप्तुकामो न रिपुहृतवलो<sup>२</sup> नैवार्थकृपणः ।  
 दुःखार्तं मृत्युनेष्टं व्यसनपरिगतं दृष्ट्वा जगदिदं  
 पन्थानं जन्मभीरुः शिवमभयमहं भगन्तुव्यवसितः ॥

श्रुत्वा राजाशोकः सशब्दं<sup>३</sup> प्ररुदितुमारब्धः । अथ वीतशोको  
 राजानमनुनयन्नुवाच । देव<sup>४</sup> ।

संसारदोलामभिरुह्य लोलां यदा निपातो नियतः प्रजानां<sup>५</sup> ।

किमर्थमागच्छति विक्रिया ते सर्वेण सर्वस्य यदा वियोगः ॥

राजाऽह । वीतशोक । भैक्षे तावदभ्यासः क्रियतां । राजकुले  
 दृक्षवाटिकायां तस्य तृणसंस्तरः संस्तृतः । भोजनं<sup>६</sup> चास्य दत्तं ।  
 ओज्जतःपुरं पर्यटति महार्हं चाहारं<sup>७</sup> लभते ।

ततो राज्ञाऽज्जतःपुरिकाभिहिता । प्रव्रजितसारूप्यमस्याहारमनु-  
 भयच्छेति । तेन यावदभिदूषिता<sup>८</sup> पूतिकमाषा लब्धाः<sup>९</sup> । तांश्च

M8 reads: *naivāhaṃ jāne taṃ nūnaṃ*. Div. *Anaiva hi jāne tam anunaṃ*,  
 } *naivāha jāneta manunaṃ*, C omits *naiva*, it reads *hi jāne tam*  
*unam*, D °*hi jāne tam anūnam*. °Div. AB °*hatabalo*. °M8 & Div.  
*tantum*. Ch1 "Now I aspire to leave this world. This is not be-  
 cause I am disgusted with royal dignity, nor because I disdain  
 the fortune that one enjoys among the *devas*, nor because one  
 is afflicted by the multitude of ills till the state of Non-being  
 (*niḥsaṭṭva*), nor because I contempt the riches and the treasure,  
 nor because I am afraid of passions which are our rebellious ene-  
 mies. It is because I dread the ills of birth, old age, disease and  
 death that I aspire to leave this world. It is to attain Nirvāṇa  
 that I aspire to leave this world!" °M8 & Div. *satvaram*. The  
 Chinese reading is adopted here. °Ch1 "Sudatta said, 'You should  
 not grieve.'" °Ch1 "The wheel of transmigration revolves  
 without stop." °Ch1 *daṇḍaḥ pātraṃ cā*. °M8 & Div. add *na* which  
 is not found in Chinese. °-°Ch1 "The king accused the con-  
 cubines, saying, 'Why do you give him this excellent nourish-  
 ment? Give him gross and wretched food, so that he may  
 be accustomed to it.' They obeyed and gave him gross and  
 wretched food." °M8 *jāvad dūṣita*. Div. BC *pūtikulamāṣā*.  
 D *dhūti*°. A *rūti*°. °Div. *labdhā taṃ ca*. M8 too reads the  
 same.

परिभोक्तुमारब्धः<sup>१</sup> । दृष्ट्वा राज्ञोऽशोकेन निवारितः<sup>२</sup> । अनुज्ञातश्च प्रव्रज<sup>३</sup>, किन्तु प्रव्रजित्वा उपदर्शयिष्यसि ।

स यावत् कुक्कुटारामं<sup>४</sup> गतः । तस्य वृद्धिरूपन्ना । यदि इह प्रव्रजिष्यामि आकीर्णो भविष्यामि । ततो विदेहेषु<sup>५</sup> जनपदेषु गत्वा प्रव्रजितः<sup>६</sup> । ततस्तेन युज्यता<sup>७</sup> यावदर्हत्त्वं प्राप्तं ।

अथायुष्मतो वीतशोकस्य अर्हत्त्वं<sup>८</sup> प्राप्तस्य विमुक्तिप्रीतिसुख-संवेदिन<sup>९</sup> एतदभवत् । “अस्ति खलु मे [द्रष्टुकामो भ्राता । ततः पाटलिपुत्राय प्रस्थितः ।] पूर्व<sup>१०</sup> राज्ञोऽशोकस्य गृहद्वारमनुप्राप्तः । ततो दौवारिकमुवाच । गच्छ<sup>११</sup> राज्ञोऽशोकस्य निवेदय<sup>१२</sup> वीतशोको द्वारि<sup>१३</sup> तिष्ठति<sup>१४</sup> देवं द्रष्टुकाम इति ।

ततो दौवारिको राजानमशोकमभिगम्योवाच । देव, दिष्ट्या<sup>१५</sup> वृद्धि<sup>१६</sup> वीतशोकोऽभ्यागतो द्वारि तिष्ठति देवं द्रष्टुकामः । ततो राज्ञोऽभिहितं । गच्छ शीघ्रं प्रवेशयेति ।

यावद् वीतशोको राजकुलं प्रविष्टः । दृष्ट्वा च राजाशोकः सिंहासनादुत्थाय मूलनिकृत्त<sup>१७</sup> इव द्रुमः सर्वशरीरेण [भूमौ निपतितः । ततः स] आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकं निरीक्षणमाणः<sup>१८</sup> प्ररुदन्नुवाच ।

भूतेषु<sup>१९</sup> संसर्गगतेषु नित्यं दृष्ट्वापि मां नैति यथा विकारं ।

विवेकवेगाधिगतस्य शङ्के प्रज्ञारसस्यातिरसस्य तृप्तः<sup>२०</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>Chl reads: “Then he ate them without any change in his manners.” <sup>२</sup>Chl omits this word. <sup>३</sup>M8 °orā°. <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. kurku°. <sup>५</sup>Chl translated Videha for videśa (ta fang). Ch2 same as the text. <sup>६</sup>Chl adds: “and learned the Way.” <sup>७</sup>Chl “and having practised with perfect attention”. <sup>८-९</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१०-११</sup>Chl “Formerly, king Aśoka made the following request: ‘When you will leave the world, you must come to see me (pravrajitvā upadarśayisyasi).’ Now, I must go and see him.’ Then, before midday, he got up, took his bowl and went to the town of Pāṭaliputra. Gradually, begging his food....”. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१४</sup>M8 & Div. dṛṣṭvā. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७</sup>Div. & M8 °ddhi vi°. <sup>१८</sup>M8 & Div. °nikṛnta. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl reads: “With five parts of his body, he touched the ground and prostrated himself before Sud (Suda°). When he got up, he joined his hands and looked at Sudatta.” <sup>२१</sup>Div. °ksya°. <sup>२२</sup>Chl “Reunion is a joy to all kinds of living creatures. Now, I look at your eyes and do not find there any expression of

अथ राज्ञोऽशोकस्य राधगुप्तो नामाग्रामात्यः । स<sup>१</sup> पश्यत्या-  
युष्मतो वीतशोकस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं मृन्मयं पात्रं श्यावदन्नभक्षं  
लूहप्रणीतं । दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञः पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिस्वाच । देव<sup>२</sup>  
यथायमल्पेच्छः सन्तुष्टश्च नियतभयं कृतकरणीयो भविष्यति ।  
‘प्रीतिरुत्पाद्येत’<sup>३</sup> । कुतः ।

भैक्षान्नभोजनं यस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं ।

निवासो वृक्षमूलं च तस्य ह्यनियतं कथं ॥

निरास्रवं यस्य मनो विशालं निरामयं चोपचितं शरीरं ।

स्वच्छन्दतो<sup>४</sup> जीवितसाधनं च नित्योत्सवं तस्य मनुष्यलोके ॥

श्रुत्वा ततो राजा प्रीतमना उवाच<sup>५</sup> ।

अपहाय मौर्यवंशं मगधपुरं सर्वरत्ननिचयं च ।

दृष्ट्वा वंशनिवहं<sup>६</sup> [नु] प्रहीणमदमानमोह<sup>७</sup> सारम्भं ॥

अत्युद्धतमिव मन्ये यशसा पूतं पुरमिव गेहं<sup>८</sup> च ।

प्रतिपद्यतां त्वया [वै] दशबलधरशासनमुदारं<sup>९</sup> ॥

अथ राजाऽशोकः सर्वाङ्गेण<sup>१०</sup> परिगृह्य प्रज्ञप्त<sup>११</sup> एवासने<sup>१२</sup>

निषादयामास । प्रणीतेन चाहारेण स्वहस्तं सन्तर्पयति । भुक्तवन्तं<sup>१३</sup>

tenderness. There is no doubt that you have obtained the Supreme Fruit; the ambrosia fills your heart.”

1-2Chl reads: “Rādhagupta”. 3-4Chl “Calmly, he begged his food and received all that is excellent as well as wretched. He (Rādha°) went towards the king and recited this *gāthā*: ‘Everyone who sees Sudatta is filled with joy.’” 5-6Chl “And that is why he can rejoice.” 6M8 & Div. *utpādāyata*. 7M8 & Div. *tasyāni*°. 8M8 *°ndo(dā) jī*°. 6-9Chl omits. 10M8 *°hanam*. 11M8 & Div. *°ham sā*°. 12Div. A *mham*, rest & M8 *maham*. 13M8 & Div. *udāre*. Chl reads: “He has renounced the royal succession, the city of Pāṭaliputra, riches and treasures as well as fortune and glory, as one allows to drop a drop of tear or a spittle. He has trampled with his feet his saintly race. Detached for ever from all riches, he has consecrated the royal lineage and made it attain a great glory.” 14-15Chl omits. 16Chl *siṃhāsane*. 17Chl “When the meal was taken, pure water was served. He (Aśoka) took a low seat and sat before him (Sudatta), and asked him to preach the Law. Then Sudatta recited for him (the king) the following *gāthā*:”

विदित्वा धीतहस्तमपनीत<sup>१</sup>पात्रमायुष्मतो वीतशोकस्य पुरतो निषण्णो धर्मश्रवणाय ।

अथायुष्मान् वीतशोको राजानमशोकं धर्म्यया कथया संदर्शयन्नुवाच<sup>२</sup> ।

अप्रमादेन<sup>३</sup> सम्पाद्य राजैश्वर्यं प्रवर्ततां<sup>४</sup> ।

दुर्लभ<sup>५</sup>त्रीणि रत्नानि नित्यं पूजय पार्थिव ॥

स यावद् धर्म्यया कथया संप्रहर्षयित्वा<sup>६</sup> संप्रस्थितः<sup>७</sup> । अथ राजाऽशोकः कृतकरपुटः पञ्चभिरमात्यशतैः परिवृतोऽनेकैश्च पौर-जनसहस्रैः परिवृतः पुरस्कृत आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकमनु<sup>८</sup>ब्रजितुमारब्धः । वक्ष्यति<sup>९</sup> हि ।

भ्राता ज्येष्ठेन राज्ञा तु गौरवेणानुगम्यते ।

प्रब्रज्यायाः खलु श्लाघ्यं<sup>१०</sup> संदृष्टिकमिदं फलं<sup>११</sup> ॥

तत<sup>१२</sup> आयुष्मान् वीतशोकः स्वगुणानुद्भावयन् पश्यतः सर्वजन-कायस्य ऋद्ध्या वैहायसमुत्पत्य प्रक्रान्तः । अथ राजाऽशोकः कृतकर-पुटः प्राणिशतसहस्रैः परिवृतः पुरस्कृतो गगनतलावसक्तदृष्टिरायुष्मन्तं वीतशोकं निरीक्षमाण<sup>१३</sup> उवाच<sup>१४</sup> ।

स्वजनस्नेहनिःसङ्गो विहङ्ग इव गच्छसि ।

श्रीरागनिगडैर्वद्वानस्मान् प्रत्यादिशन्निव<sup>१५</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>M8 & Div. read: °niya. <sup>१-२</sup>Chl: cf. above. <sup>३</sup>M8 & BCD *apramādyena*, A *apramodyena*. M8 *samvādyā*. <sup>३-४</sup>Chl "The royal dignity is noble and venerable. Do not neglect (the duty)."  
<sup>५</sup>Div. & M8 *durlabhā*. <sup>६</sup>Div. & M8 *samhar*°. <sup>७</sup>Chl "Having recited this *gāthā*, he got up from the throne." <sup>८</sup>Div. °*janapada*°. <sup>९</sup>M8 °*nupavra*°. <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits this. <sup>११-१२</sup>Chl "So glorified for having realized the Fruit of Śramaṇa, Sudatta reflected thus: 'Formerly, my elder brother converted me by various means and made me enter into the Law of Buddha. Now, I must see that his faith and respect be increased.'" <sup>१३</sup>Div. & M8 *ślāghyasam*°. <sup>१४-१५</sup>Chl "Then he soared into the sky and worked all sorts of marvels. King Aśoka with the multitude of his ministers, raised his hands and recited these *gāthās*:" <sup>१६</sup>M8 & Div. °*kṣya*°. <sup>१७</sup>M8 adds: *āha ca*. <sup>१८</sup>Chl reads this line and the following as: "I am bound

आत्मायत्तस्य शान्तस्य मनःसंकेतचारिणः ।  
 ध्यानस्य फलमेतच्च रागान्धैर्येण न दृश्यते ॥

'अपि च' ।

ऋद्ध्या खल्ववर्भत्सिताः<sup>१</sup> परमया श्रीगर्वितास्ते वयं  
 बुद्ध्या खल्वपि नामिताः शिरसिताः<sup>२</sup> प्रज्ञाभिमानोदयाः<sup>३</sup> ।  
 प्राप्तार्थेन फलान्धबुद्धिमनसः संवेजितास्ते वयं  
 संक्षेपेण सवाष्पदुर्दिनमुखाः स्थाने विमुक्ता वयं<sup>४</sup> ॥

तत्रायुष्मान् वीतशोकः प्रत्यन्तिकेषु<sup>५</sup> जनपदेषु शय्याशनाय<sup>६</sup>  
 निर्गतः । <sup>७</sup>तस्य च महाव्याधिरूपन्नः<sup>८</sup> । श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽशोकेन  
 भैषज्यमुपस्थायकाश्च<sup>९</sup> विसर्जिताः<sup>१०</sup> । तस्य तेन व्याधिना स्पृष्टस्य  
 शिरः खुस्तमभवत्<sup>११</sup> । यद्वा च व्याधिर्निर्गतस्तस्य<sup>१२</sup> विरूढानि शिरसि  
 रोमाणि<sup>१३</sup> । तेन वैद्योपस्थायकाश्च<sup>१४</sup> विसर्जिताः । <sup>१५</sup>तस्य च गोरसः<sup>१६</sup>  
 प्राय आहारोनुसेव्यते । स घोषं गत्वा भैक्षं पर्यटति<sup>१७</sup> ।

तस्मिंश्च समये पुण्डवर्धननगरे निर्ग्रन्थोपासकेन बुद्धप्रतिमा  
 निर्ग्रन्थस्य पादयोर्निपतिता चित्रार्पिता<sup>१८</sup> । उपासकेनाशोकस्य राज्ञो  
 निवेदितं<sup>१९</sup> । श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽभिहितं शीघ्रमानीयतां<sup>२०</sup> ।

by bonds of royal dignity, I extend my influence and affection over the things of this world. By disregard and by contempt for his ego, he is liberated by his own power. He has tasted the Fruit as he has achieved mastery over himself."

<sup>1-2</sup>Chl omits. <sup>3</sup>M8 & Div. read: °bhatsitāh. <sup>4</sup>M8 & Div. °sitā pra°. <sup>5</sup>M8 & Div. °dayam. <sup>6</sup>M8 sarvaji°. <sup>2-7</sup>Chl reads: "Here by ṛddhi (lit. by taking your flight) you have destroyed my pride. Although my wisdom and power be weak, manage it so that I may attain detachment." <sup>8</sup>Div. °meṣu. <sup>9</sup>M8 °sanān. Div. AB śayyasānā, CD śayyasānā. Chl omits this. <sup>10</sup>Chl adds: "and having arrived at a foreign kingdom". <sup>11</sup>Div. mahān vyādhi°. Chl adds: "and the hair of his head fell." <sup>12</sup>Div & M8 upasthāyi°. Chl "one doctor". <sup>13</sup>Chl adds: "who carried (with him) medicines, went to his place and attended him (Sudatta)." <sup>14</sup>Div. A kham°. Chl omits this sentence. <sup>15-16</sup>Chl reads: "His hair shot out again as before." <sup>17</sup>Chl omits upa°. <sup>18</sup>Chl adds: "Henceforth". <sup>19</sup>Chl "fermented milk". M8 & Div. °rasāh . . . rānusevate. <sup>20</sup>Chl "In order to procure it (milk) easily, he went to the jungle and lived near by the shepherds." <sup>21</sup>Div. ABC citrāpitā. <sup>22-23</sup>Chl reads: "The disciples of the heretic Nirgrantha have etc. etc."



तस्योर्ध्वं योजनं यक्षाः शृण्वन्ति । अधो योजनं नागाः ।  
यावत्तं तत्क्षणेन यक्षैरुपनीतं । दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञा रुषितेनाभिहितं ।  
पुण्डवर्धने सर्वे आजीविकाः प्रघातयितव्याः । यावदेकदिवसेऽष्टादश-  
सहस्राणि आजीविकानां प्रघातितानि<sup>१</sup> ।

ततः पाटलिपुत्रे भूयोऽन्येन निर्ग्रन्थोपासकेन बुद्धप्रतिमा निर्ग्रन्थस्य  
पादयोर्निपतिता चित्रार्पिता । श्रुत्वा च राज्ञोऽर्घितेन स निर्ग्रन्थो-  
पासकः सवन्धुवर्गो गृहं प्रवेशयित्वाऽग्निना दग्धः । आज्ञप्तं<sup>२</sup> च यो मे  
निर्ग्रन्थस्य शिरो दास्यति तस्य दीनारं<sup>३</sup> दास्यामि । इति घोषितं ।

स चायुष्मान् वीतशोक आभीरस्य गृहे रात्रिवासमुपगतः<sup>४</sup> ।  
तस्य च व्याधिना<sup>५</sup> क्लिष्टस्य<sup>६</sup> लूहानि चीवराणि दीर्घकेशनखश्मश्रु<sup>७</sup> ।  
आभीर्या बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना निर्ग्रन्थोऽयमस्माकं गृहे रात्रिवासमुपगतः<sup>८</sup> ।  
स्वामिनमुवाच । आर्यपुत्र सम्पन्नोऽयमस्माकं दीनारः । इमं निर्ग्रन्थं  
प्रघातयित्वा शिरो राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामयेयमिति<sup>९</sup> ।

ततः स आभीरोऽसि निष्क्रोपं कृत्वा<sup>१०</sup> आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकमभि-  
गतः । आयुष्मता च वीतशोकेन पूर्वान्तं ज्ञानं क्षिप्तं । पश्यति  
स्वयंकृतानां कर्मणां फलमिदमुपस्थितं । ततः कर्मप्रतिशरणो भूत्वा-  
ऽवस्थितः । तेन तथाऽस्याभीरेण शिरश्छिन्नं<sup>११</sup> । राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनीतं ।  
दीनारं प्रयच्छेति ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl continues: "Hearing this news, the king got angry and sent off the *yaksas* to the distance of forty *li* (*i.e.* one *yojana*) in the air and the *nāgas* to the distance of forty *li* beneath the earth. They put to death . . . in the town of Pāṭaliputra(?) (for Puṇḍavardhana)." Ch2 reads: "Puṇḍa". <sup>२</sup>Chl adds: "Then the *upāsakas* informed this to the king." <sup>३</sup>M8 & Div. ABC *ājñāptam*. <sup>४</sup>Chl "pieces of gold". Ch2 "a piece of gold". <sup>५</sup>Div. & M8 *trim vāsa*. Chl "Sudatta received hospitality in the house of a Nirgrantha." <sup>६</sup>Chl omits. Div. *nakha-śmaśruḥ*. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl omits these sentences. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl reads: "His appearance was similar to that of a *nirgrantha-putra*. One demon holding a sword . . ." <sup>११</sup>Chl "Sudatta said to himself: 'For having passed the night here, I must be put to death by this demon.' Then the demon, believing that he was a *nirgrantha-putra*, cut off also his head." Ch2 reads in accordance with the text. <sup>१२</sup>Div. & M8 *pūrvānte jñānam*.

दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञाऽशोकेन न परिज्ञातं । 'विरलानि चास्य शिरांसि  
रोमाणि न व्यक्तिमुपगच्छन्ति । ततो वैद्या उपस्थायका<sup>३</sup> आनीताः ।  
तैर्दृष्ट्वाभिहितं । देव<sup>४</sup> वीतशोकस्यैत् शिरः । 'श्रुत्वा राजा<sup>५</sup>  
मूर्च्छितो भूमौ पतितः । यावज् 'जलसेकं दत्त्वा स्थापितः<sup>६</sup> । अमात्यै-  
श्चाभिहितं । 'देव वीतरागामपि अत्र पीडा जाता । दीयतां  
सर्वसत्त्वेष्वभयप्रदानं<sup>७</sup> ।

यावद्राज्ञाऽभयप्रदानं दत्तं, न भूयः कश्चित् प्रघातयितव्यः<sup>८</sup> ।

ततो भिक्षवः संशयजाताः सर्वसंशयछेत्तारम्<sup>९</sup> आयुष्मन्तमुप-  
गुप्तं पृच्छन्ति । किं कर्म कृतमायुष्मता वीतशोकेन यस्य कर्मणो  
विपाकेन शस्त्रेण प्रघातितः<sup>१०</sup> । स्थविर उवाच । तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः  
कर्माणि कृतानि पूर्वमन्यासु जातिषु । श्रूयतां<sup>११</sup> ।

भूतपूर्वं भिक्षवोऽतीतेऽध्वनि अन्यतमो लुब्धो मृगान्<sup>१२</sup> प्रघात-  
यित्वा जीविकां कल्पयति । अटव्यामुदपानं । स तत्र लुब्धो गत्वा  
पाशान् यन्त्रांश्च स्थापयित्वा मृगान् प्रघातयति<sup>१३</sup> ।

असति बुद्धानामुत्पादे प्रत्येकबुद्धा लोके उत्पद्यन्ते । विस्तरः<sup>१४</sup> ।  
अन्यतरः प्रत्येकबुद्धस् <sup>१५</sup>तस्मिन्नुदपाने आहारकृत्यं कृत्वोदपाना-  
दुत्तीर्य<sup>१६</sup> वृक्षमूले पर्यङ्क्तेण<sup>१७</sup> निषण्णः । <sup>१८</sup>तस्य गन्धेन मृगास्तस्मिन्नुदपाने

<sup>१</sup>Chl, Div. & M8 *'kena pariññātam*. <sup>२-३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>४</sup>B *'yikā*. <sup>५</sup>Chl adds: "He learnt further from one of his ministers that the (supposed, so-called) Śramaṇa heretics were put to death in multitude; while in fact, they (the heretics) were only a few. The king was deeply aggrieved." <sup>६-७</sup>Chl "with heaped up sorrows". <sup>८</sup>Chl adds: *mukhe*. <sup>९</sup>Chl "After a long time, he regained consciousness." <sup>१०-११</sup>Chl "'Actually numerous are the Śramaṇas who are put to death in error. O king, grant safety to the Śramaṇas.' Then the king proclaimed an edict in the following terms: 'Henceforth, not any more Śramaṇa will be allowed to be put to death.'" <sup>१२</sup>M8 *abhayadānam*. <sup>१३</sup>Chl omits this word. <sup>१४</sup>Chl "Why was Sudatta put to death by a demon?" <sup>१५</sup>Chl "If you want to know, listen with attention." M8 *bhūta-pūrvam a[ti]te*. <sup>१६-१७</sup>Chl *udapānasamīpaṃ pāsān sikhāpayati*. <sup>१८-१९</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२०-२१</sup>Chl *piṇḍāya caritvā pāsasamīpaṃ*. <sup>२२</sup>Chl omits this word. M8 *'nika(ke)*. <sup>२३</sup>Chl "The hunter could not catch any deer. He said to himself: 'Why these deer which are so numerous

नाभ्यागताः । स लुब्ध आगत्य पश्यति नैव मृगा उदपानमभ्यागताः ।  
पदानुसारेण च तं प्रत्येकबुद्धमभिगतः । दृष्ट्वा चास्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना ।  
अनेनैष आदीनव उत्पादितः<sup>१</sup> । तेनासिं निष्कोषं कृत्वा स प्रत्येकबुद्धः  
प्रघातितः ।

किं मन्यध्वे आयुष्मन्तः<sup>२</sup> । योऽसौ लुब्धः स एष वीतशोकः ।  
यत्रानेन<sup>३</sup> मृगाः प्रघातितास् तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन महान्  
व्याधिरुत्पन्नः<sup>४</sup> ।

यत्प्रत्येकबुद्धः शस्त्रेण प्रघातितस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन बहूनि  
वर्षसहस्राणि<sup>५</sup> नरकेषु दुःखमनुभूय<sup>६</sup> पञ्चजन्मशतानि मनुष्येषूपपन्नः<sup>७</sup>  
शस्त्रेण प्रघातितः<sup>८</sup> । तत्कर्मविशेषेणैतर्हि अर्हत्त्वप्राप्तोऽपि शस्त्रेण  
प्रघातितः<sup>९</sup> ।

किं कर्म कृतं येन उच्चकुले<sup>१०</sup> उपपन्नः<sup>११</sup> । अर्हत्त्वं च प्राप्तं ।

स्थविर उवाच । काश्यपे सम्यक्सम्बुद्धे प्रव्रजितः<sup>१२</sup> । अभूत्  
प्रदानरुचिः । तेन दायकदानपतयः सङ्घभक्ताः<sup>१३</sup> कारापिताः । तर्पणानि  
यवागूपानानि निमन्त्रणकानि<sup>१४</sup> [कारापितानि] स्तूपेषु च छत्राण्यव-  
रोपितानि<sup>१५</sup> । ध्वजपताकागन्धमाल्यपुष्पवादित्रसमुदयेन पूजाः कृताः<sup>१६</sup> ।  
तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चकुल उपपन्नः<sup>१७</sup> । यावद् दशवर्षसहस्राणि  
ब्रह्मचर्यं चरित्वा<sup>१८</sup> सम्यक् प्रणिधानं कृतं<sup>१९</sup> । तस्य कर्मणो विपाके-  
नार्हत्त्वं प्राप्तमिति ।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदाने<sup>२०</sup> वीतशोकावदानमष्टाविंशतितमं<sup>२१</sup> ।

do not come to my nets ?' Then he looked in all directions and saw the Pratyeka Buddha seated under a tree near the nets."  
<sup>1</sup>Chl: cf. above. <sup>2-3</sup>Chl omits. <sup>4</sup>Chl reads: *kalpakoliśo*. <sup>5-6</sup>Chl "at last he found the Way". <sup>7</sup>Chl adds: "by this demon (*yakṣeṇa*)".  
<sup>7-8</sup>Chl omits. <sup>8</sup>M8 & Div. *arhatbrāpto*. <sup>9-10</sup>Chl omits. <sup>11</sup>Chl reads *saṅghe* for *pravra*. M8 *abhūt prādā*. <sup>12</sup>Div. & M8 *bhaktām*. <sup>13</sup>Div. *mantraṅkāni*. M8 *yavāguṣā nim*. <sup>14</sup>Div. & M8 *chatrāvaropitāni dhvajāḥ patakā*. <sup>12-15</sup>Chl omits these sentences. <sup>16</sup>Chl adds: *tadā ca sa śraddhayā pravrajitah*. <sup>17-18</sup>Chl *acarat*. <sup>19</sup>Div. ABC omit. M8 *dānamālāyāni*. <sup>20</sup>Div. *timam*. D *maḥ*. M8 *ekoṇaviṃśati*.

# कुनालावदानं

## यशोऽमात्योपाख्यानं

स इदानीमचिरजातप्रसादो बृद्धशासने यत्र शाक्यपुत्रीयान् ददर्श,  
आकीर्णो रहसि वा तत्र शिरसा पादयोर्निपत्य वन्दते स्म ।

तस्य च यशो<sup>१</sup> नामामात्यः परमश्राद्धो भगवति । स तं  
राजानमुवाच ।

देव नार्हसि सर्ववर्णप्रव्रजितानां प्रणिपातं कर्तुं । सन्ति हि  
शाक्यश्रामणेरकाश्चतुर्भ्यो वर्णेभ्यः प्रव्रजिता इति । तस्य राजा न  
किञ्चिदवोचद् ।

अथ स राजा केनचित् कालान्तरेण सर्वसचिवान् उवाच ।  
विविधानां प्राणिनां शिरोभिः कार्यं । तत्त्वममुकस्य प्राणिनः शीर्षमानय  
त्वममुकस्येति<sup>२</sup> । यशोऽमात्यः<sup>३</sup> पुनराज्ञप्तस्त्वं मानुषं<sup>४</sup> शीर्षमानयेति ।  
समानीतेषु च शिरःस्वभिहिताः । गच्छतेमानि शिरांसि मूल्येन  
विक्रीणीध्वमिति<sup>५</sup> ।

अथ सर्वशिरांसि विक्रीतानि । तदेव मानुषं शिरो न कश्चिज्

1-3ChI reads: "Formerly, when king Aśoka saw monks, he prostrated himself before all without any distinction of rank. Dignitaries with perverse views were astonished at what he was doing. They said: 'If an aged person with great merits is seen, one honours him by prostrating oneself. But why should a man take the trouble of honouring a young man without merit, by prostrating himself before him? The king reigns over vast Jambudvīpa. His name is holy and held in reverence. He should respect his own personality himself. Why does he humiliate his own self by prostrating himself?' This remark having been circulated came to the ear of the king. When he came to know it, he assembled all his ministers. Without being authorised to kill a living creature, each was obliged to order his men to procure a head of a particular species, be it the head of a horse or bull or of any quadrupeds (*lit.* of the hundred quadrupeds)." <sup>2</sup>CD *yaśā*. <sup>4</sup>ChI "the great minister Yaśaḥ". MSS. *yaśū*. <sup>5</sup>ChI adds: "self-murderer". <sup>6-7</sup>ChI "Everyone of them must get these heads sold in the market."

जग्राह<sup>१</sup> । ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितः । ३विनापि मूल्येन कस्मैचिद् एतच्छिरो देहीति ।

न चास्य कश्चित् प्रतिग्राहको वभूव । ततो यशोऽमात्यस्तस्य शिरसः प्रतिग्राहकमनासाद्य सत्रीडो राजानमुपेत्येदमर्थमुवाच<sup>३</sup> ।

५गोर्दभोरभ्रमृगद्विजानां मूल्यैर्गृहीतानि शिरांसि पुम्भिः ।

शिरस्त्वदं मानुषमप्रशस्तं न गृह्यते मूल्यमृतेऽपि राजन् ॥

अथ स राजा तममात्यमुवाच । किमिदमिति । इदं मानुषशिरो न कश्चिद् गृह्णातीति ।

अमात्य उवाच । जुगुप्सितत्वादिति<sup>५</sup> । राजाऽब्रवीत् । किमेतदेव शिरो जुगुप्सितमाहोस्वित् सर्वमानुषशिरांसीति । अमात्य उवाच । सर्वमानुषशिरांसीति ।

राजाऽब्रवीत् । ६किमिदं मदीयमपि शिरो जुगुप्सितमिति<sup>६</sup> । स च भयान्नेच्छति तस्माद् भूतार्थमभिधातुं । स राज्ञाऽभिहितः<sup>७</sup> । अमात्य सत्यमुच्यतामिति । स उवाच । एवमिति<sup>८</sup> ।

ततः स राजा तममात्यं प्रतिज्ञायां प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रत्यादिशन्निममर्थमुवाच । हं भो रूपैश्वर्यजनितमदविस्मित युक्तमिदं भवतः । यस्मात्त्वं भिक्षुचरणप्रणामं मां विच्छन्दयितुमिच्छसि ।

विनापि मूल्यैर्विजुगुप्सितत्वात् प्रतिग्रहीता भुवि यस्य नास्ति ।

शिरस्तदासाद्य ममेह पुण्यं यद्यजितं किं विपरीतमत्र<sup>९</sup> ॥

<sup>1</sup>Chl adds: "All the men (of the ministers) said, 'The heads taken for sale have all been sold, except the head of the human being.'" <sup>2-3</sup>Chl "Why is it not sold? Among all the creatures which one is the greatest?" The ministers replied, 'Certainly, man is the greatest.' The king said, 'If man is the greatest of all, he must have great value. Why then, it remains unsold?'" <sup>4-5</sup>Chl "The ministers replied, 'Though honoured during his life, is there anything more contemptible than a man when he is dead? The head of a (dead) man is a thing which none likes any more to look at. So there was none to buy it.'" <sup>6-7</sup>Chl "If all human heads are contemptible, is not mine also?" <sup>8</sup>MSS. <sup>9</sup>tam. <sup>9</sup>Chl adds: "As Your Majesty has said, really there is no difference." <sup>9-10</sup>Chl omits.

जातिं भवान् पश्यति शाक्यभिक्षुष्वन्तर्गतांस्तेषु गुणान्न चेति<sup>१</sup> ।  
 अतो भवान् जातिमदावलेपादात्मानमन्यांश्च हिनस्ति मोहात् ॥  
 आवाहकालेऽथ विवाहकाले जातेः परीक्षा न तु धर्मकाले ।  
 धर्मक्रियाया हि गुणा निमित्ता गुणाश्च जातिं न विचारयन्ति ॥  
 यद्युच्चकुलीनगता दोषा गृह्णां प्रयान्ति लोकेऽस्मिन् ।  
 कथमिव नीचजनगता गुणा न सत्कारमर्हन्ति ॥  
 चित्तवशेन हि पुंसां कडेवरं निन्दतेऽथ सत्क्रियते ।  
 शाक्यश्रमणमनांसि च शुद्धान्यचर्म्यतः<sup>२</sup> शाक्यान् ॥  
 यदि गुणपरिवर्जितो द्विजातिः पतित इति प्रयितोऽपि यात्यवज्ञां ।  
 ननु<sup>३</sup> निघनकुलोद्गतोऽपि जन्तुः शुभगुणयुक्त इति प्रणम्यपूज्यः ॥  
 अपि च ।

किं ते कारुणिकस्य शाक्यवृषभस्यैतद् वचो न श्रुतं  
 प्राज्ञैः सारमसारकेभ्य इह यन्त्रेभ्यो<sup>४</sup> ग्रहीतुं क्षमं ।  
 तस्यानन्यथवादिनो यदि च तामाज्ञां चिक्रोषम्यहं<sup>५</sup>  
 व्याहन्तुं च भवान् यदि प्रयतते नैतत् सुहृल्लक्षणं ॥  
 इक्षुक्षोदवद् उज्जितो भुवि यदा कायो मम स्वप्स्यति  
 प्रत्युत्थाननमस्कृताञ्जलिपुटक्लेशक्रियास्त्वक्षमः ।  
 कायेनाहमनेन किन्तु<sup>६</sup> कुशलं शश्यामि कर्तुं तदा  
 तस्मान् न्वर्हमतः<sup>७</sup> स्मराननिघनात् सारं ग्रहीतुं मया ॥

<sup>१</sup>MSS. *asti*. <sup>२</sup>MSS. *śūdrāyācārah*. <sup>३</sup>MSS. *na tu*. <sup>४</sup>All the MSS. read *jantri* except D which reads *jan bhṛgva*. <sup>५</sup>MSS. *śūdrā*. <sup>६</sup>Chl reads this passage as: "The king said, 'If my head is not different from that one, why do you prevent me from prostrating myself? If you are a sincere friend of mine, you must exhort me to prostrate myself. Why do you laugh at me while I prostrate myself? Now when my head has some value I should prostrate myself and exchange it (head) while it is still valuable; for, afterwards it will be worth nothing. What better use could I make of it than by exchanging it for a head of higher value? Henceforth, my virtuous and intimate friends must exhort me to fall prostrate while my head still holds all its value, so that in future, I may obtain the divine body (*divya-deha*) and the sublime head of sages.'" <sup>७</sup>MSS. *kiñtu*. <sup>८</sup>MSS. *asman nighna*.

स्तूपवन्दनायाम् आत्मानमलङ्कृतुकामोऽमात्यगणपरिवृतः कुक्कुटारामं  
गत्वा तत्र वृद्धान्ते स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिर्<sup>३</sup> उवाच ।

अस्ति कश्चिदन्योऽपि निर्दिष्टः<sup>४</sup> सर्वदर्शिना ।

यथाहं तेन निर्दिष्टः पांशुदानेन<sup>५</sup> धीमता ॥

तत्र यशो नाम्ना सङ्घस्थविर उवाच । अस्ति महाराज । यदा<sup>६</sup>  
भगवतः परिनिर्वाणकालसमयस्तदाऽपलालं नागं दमयित्वा कुम्भकारीं<sup>७</sup>  
चण्डालीं गोपालीं च नागं च मथुरामनुप्राप्तः<sup>८</sup> ।

तत्र भगवानायुष्मन्त<sup>९</sup>मानन्दम् आमन्त्रयत्<sup>१०</sup> । अस्यामानन्द  
मथुरायां वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य गुप्तो नाम्ना गान्धिको<sup>११</sup>  
भविष्यति । तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यत्युपगुप्तो नाम्ना<sup>१२</sup> अववादकानामग्रः  
अलक्षणको बुद्धो यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति<sup>१३</sup> ।

पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दूरत<sup>१४</sup> एव<sup>१५</sup> नीलनीलाम्बरराजिं<sup>१६</sup> । एवं  
भदन्त । एष आनन्द उरुमुण्डो नाम पर्वतोऽत्र<sup>१७</sup> वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य  
तथागतस्य<sup>१८</sup> नटभटिका नामारण्यायतनं भविष्यति ।<sup>१९</sup> एतदग्रं मे

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 begins: "When king Aśoka had completed the construction of the *stūpas*, he was overcome with joy." <sup>२</sup>Ch1 omits it. <sup>३</sup>Ch1 adds here: "in Jambudvīpa among the numerous persons". <sup>४</sup>MSS. add *dvitīyaḥ*. CD *sarvadarsīno*. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>६</sup>MSS. *ye ta°*. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *°kālaṁ caṇḍālīgo°*. <sup>८-९</sup>Ch1 "Formerly, when Buddha reached the kingdom of Uḍḍiyana, he subdued the dragon Apapo (Ch2 Apalāla). In the kingdom of Kashmir, he converted the Brāhmaṇa (*lit.* the master Brāhmaṇa). In the kingdom of Gandhāra, he converted Caṇḍāla. In the kingdom of Gandhāra he subdued the bull (*go*) and the Nāga. Thereupon, he proceeded again to the kingdom of Mathurā." Ch2 reads the names as: Apalāla Nāgarāja, Kumbhakāra, Caṇḍāla, Nāga(rāja); it omits Gopali. <sup>१०</sup>AB *āyusmam ā°*. C *°man ā°*. D *°mān ā°*. <sup>११</sup>MSS. *°te*. <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 *grhapatir*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Ch1 "Although he may not have the exterior marks (on his body), he will make conversion like Buddha (*buddha-kāryam*). Without entering into ecstasy he will have the power to read the thoughts of all living beings, within the distance of a *yojana*. He will be the best of all, in giving instructions in the courses of *dhyāna* (*avavādakānān agraḥ* ?)." <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 adds: "And once more Buddha said to Ānanda..." <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 *idānīm*. <sup>१७</sup>Ch1 *°lāranyam*. <sup>१८-१९</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>२०</sup>Ch1 "For the (construction of) buildings and for their disposition, this pl

‘आनन्द भविष्यति शमथानुकूलानां शय्यासनानां यदुत नटभटिका  
नामारग्यायतनम् । आह च ।

अववादकानां प्रवर उपगुप्तो महायशाः ।

व्याकृतो लोकनाथेन बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति ॥

राजाऽह ॥

किं पुनः स शुद्धसत्त्व उपपन्नः । अथाद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति<sup>१</sup> ।  
स्थविर उवाच । उत्पन्नः स महात्मा उरुमुण्डे पर्वते जितक्लेशो-  
र्हृद्गणैः<sup>२</sup> परिवृतस्तिष्ठति लोकानुकम्पार्थं । अपि च देव<sup>३</sup> ।

सर्वज्ञलीलो हि स शुद्धसत्त्वो धर्म<sup>४</sup> प्रणीतं वदते गणाग्रे<sup>५</sup> ।

देवा<sup>६</sup>सुरेन्द्रोरगमानुषांश्च सहस्रशो<sup>७</sup> मोक्षपुरं प्रणेत ॥

तेन<sup>८</sup> खलु समयेनायुष्मानुपगुप्तोऽष्टादशभिरहंसहस्रैः परिवृतो  
नटभटिकारण्यायतने प्रतिवसति । श्रुत्वा च<sup>९</sup> राजाऽमात्यगणान् आहूय  
कथयति ।

संनाह्यतां हस्तिरथाश्वकायः<sup>१०</sup> शीघ्रं प्रयास्याम्युरुमुण्डशैलं ।

द्रक्ष्यामि सर्वास्रव<sup>११</sup>विप्रमुक्तं साक्षादर्हन्तं<sup>१२</sup> ह्युपगुप्तमार्यं<sup>१३</sup> ॥

ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितः । देव<sup>१४</sup> दूतः प्रेषयितव्यो विषयनिवासी<sup>१५</sup> स  
देवस्य<sup>१६</sup> स्वयमेवागमिष्यति । राजाऽह । नासावस्माकमर्हत्यभिगन्तुं ।  
किन्तु वयमेवाहामस्तस्याभिगन्तुं । अपि च<sup>१७</sup> ।

will be the best of all. People will be able to practise *dhyāna*. These are the (two) predictions made by Buddha (regarding you). The king having heard these words said to the Sthavira...<sup>1</sup> Chl: cf. above. <sup>2</sup>Chl omits. <sup>3-4</sup>Chl reads: *sarva-bandhanāni chittvā arhattvaṃ prāpya aṣṭādaśa-sahasra-arhad*. <sup>4</sup>A *ṛhad varṇaiḥ*. <sup>5-6</sup>Chl omits. <sup>7-8</sup>Chl “In favour of sages, saints, and all kinds of living creatures, he opens, by his prediction (*i.e.* prediction of Buddha regarding him), the doors of the Law (Dharma).” <sup>9</sup>Chl *devāṃś ca yakṣora*. <sup>10</sup>Chl *amānuṣān* (“those who are not human beings”). <sup>11-12</sup>Chl omits. <sup>13</sup>Chl adds here: “as well as foot-soldiers”. <sup>14</sup>MSS. *ṣrava*. <sup>15</sup>Chl “The Sthavira Upagupta and the multitude of (other) Sthavira who have attained Deliverance.” MSS. *ṣtanāma. ṣtanātham*? <sup>16</sup>Chl adds: “That state is small and our soldiers are extremely numerous.” <sup>17</sup>A *viṣaprativāsi*. <sup>17-18</sup>Chl: *tam āhvayitum*. <sup>19-20</sup>Chl “I must go to see him. Why? Because, I who have not yet obtained ‘the mind as firm as a diamond’ could not



मन्ये वज्रमयं तस्य देहं शैलोपमाधिकं ।

शास्तृतुल्योपगुप्तस्य यो ह्याज्ञामाक्षिपेन् नरः ॥

यावद् राज्ञा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य सकाशं दूतः प्रेषितः स्थविर-  
दर्शनाय आगमिष्यामीति । स्थविरोपगुप्तश्चिन्तयति । यदि राजा-  
गमिष्यति महाजनकायस्य पीडा भविष्यति । गोचरस्य च । ततः  
स्थविरेणाभिहितं । स्वयमेवागमिष्यामीति ।

ततो राज्ञा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्यार्थं नौयानेनागमिष्यतीति यावच्च  
मयुरां यावच्च पाटलिपुत्रमन्तरान् नौसङ्क्रमोऽवस्थापितः । अथ  
स्थविरोपगुप्तो राज्ञोऽशोकस्य अनुग्रहार्थम् अष्टादशभिरहंसहस्रैः  
परिवृतो नावमभिरुह्य पाटलिपुत्रमनुप्राप्तः ।

ततो राजपुरुषं राज्ञोऽशोकस्य निवेदितं । देव दिष्ट्या वर्धस्व ।  
अनुग्रहार्थं तव सोपगुप्तश्चित्तेश्वरः शासनकर्णधारः पुरस्कृतस्तीर्ण-  
भवीधपारैः सार्धं समभ्यागत एव पद्भ्याम् ॥

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञा प्रीतमनसा शतसहस्रमूल्यो मुक्ताहारः  
स्वगरीरादवनीय प्रियाख्यायिनो दत्तः । घण्टिकं चाहूय कथयति ।  
घृष्यन्तां पाटलिपुत्रे घण्टाः । स्थविरोपगुप्तस्यागमनं निवेद्यतां ।

उत्सृज्य<sup>१</sup> दारिद्रमनर्थमूलं<sup>२</sup> यः स्फीतशोभां श्रियमिच्छतीह ।  
 'स्वर्गापवर्गाय च हेतुभूतं स पश्यतां कारुणिकोपगुप्तं' ॥  
 येभिर्न दृष्टो द्विपदप्रधानः शास्ता महाकारुणिकः स्वयम्भूः ।  
 ते शास्तृकल्पं स्थविरोपगुप्तं पश्यन्त्युदारं त्रिभवप्रदीपं ॥

'यावद्राजा पाटलिपुत्रे घण्टां<sup>३</sup> घोपयित्वा<sup>४</sup> नगरशोभां<sup>५</sup> च  
 क्राग्यित्वा<sup>६</sup> अर्धतृतीयानि<sup>७</sup> योजनानि गत्वा सर्ववाद्येन सर्वपुष्पगन्ध-  
 माल्येन<sup>८</sup> सर्वपीरैः सर्वामात्यैः सह स्थविरोपगुप्तं प्रत्युदगतः ।

ददर्श राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तं दूरत<sup>९</sup> एव<sup>१०</sup> अष्टादशभिरहंसहस्रै-  
 रर्धचन्द्रेणोपगुप्तं<sup>११</sup> । यदन्तरं च राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तमद्राक्षीत्<sup>१२</sup> तदन्तरं  
 हस्तिस्कन्धाद् अवतीर्य पद्भ्यां<sup>१३</sup> नदीतीरमभिगम्य<sup>१४</sup> एकं पादं नदीतीरे  
 स्थाप्य<sup>१५</sup> द्वितीयं नौफलके स्थविरोपगुप्तं<sup>१६</sup> सर्वाङ्गेणानुपरिगृह्य नाव  
 उत्तारितवान् । उत्तार्य च मूलनिकृत्<sup>१७</sup> इव द्रुमः सर्वशरीरेणोपगुप्तस्य  
 पादयोर्निपतितो<sup>१८</sup> मुखतुण्डकेन च पादावनुपरिमार्ज्य उत्थाय द्वौ<sup>१९</sup>  
 जानुमण्डलौ पृथिवीतले निक्षिप्य<sup>२०</sup> कृताञ्जलिः स्थविरोपगुप्तं<sup>२१</sup>  
 निरीक्षमाण उवाच ।

यदा<sup>२२</sup> मया अत्रुगणान् निहत्य<sup>२३</sup> प्राप्ता समुद्राभरणा सशैला<sup>२४</sup> ।

पृकातपत्रा पृथिवी तदा<sup>२५</sup> मे प्रीतिर्न सा या स्थविरं<sup>२६</sup> निरीक्ष्य ॥

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२-३</sup>Chl "Those who wish to be born among the *devas*, wish to be liberated and (wish to) see Tathāgata, come together to make offering to Upagupta." And he recited the following *gāthā*:" <sup>४</sup>Wrong reading for *yaiḥ*. Vedic & Pali influence. Chl "Creatures who wish to see the most venerable among the bipeds, the great compassionate one, the Hero, one who rose without master (*svayambhū* ?) whose teaching, similar to that of Buddha, illuminates the three worlds, may all assemble here and go to meet him."  
<sup>५</sup>Chl adds: "The king having recited the *gāthā*". <sup>६</sup>Chl omits.  
<sup>७</sup>Chl adds: *māṅgaśobhām*. <sup>८</sup>Chl adds: *kusumapurān nirgatya*. <sup>९</sup>Chl *ardhayanam*. <sup>१०</sup>Chl *sarvagandhena*. <sup>११</sup>Chl *āgacchantām*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl lit. *pariṣṭām*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७</sup>=*sthāpayitvā*. <sup>१८-१९</sup>Chl "The king received the Venerable Upagupta graciously. He prostrated himself humbly. He lay down on the earth with the five parts of his body."  
<sup>२०</sup>MSS. *nikṣyanta*. <sup>२१-२२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२३</sup>Chl adds: *śraddhāyā*. <sup>२४</sup>Chl *idānīm*. <sup>२५</sup>Chl adds: *jambudvīpaṃ jitaṃ*. <sup>२६</sup>Chl adds: *sapattanā dhanānvitā*. <sup>२७</sup>Chl *pūrvam*. <sup>२८</sup>Chl adds: *svacakṣuṣā*.

त्वद्दर्शनान् मे द्विगुणप्रसादः संजायतेऽस्मिन् वरशासनाग्रे<sup>१</sup> ।  
 त्वद्दर्शनाच्चैव परोपि शुद्धो<sup>२</sup> दृष्टो मयाद्य अप्रतिमः<sup>३</sup> स्वयम्भूः<sup>४</sup> ॥  
 अपि च ।

शान्तिगते कारुणिके जिनेन्द्रे त्वं बुद्धकार्यं कुरुषे त्रिलोके<sup>५</sup> ।  
 नष्टे<sup>६</sup> जगन्मोहनमीलिताक्षे त्वमर्कवज् ज्ञानवभासकर्ता<sup>७</sup> ॥  
 त्वं शास्त्रकल्पो जगदेकत्रक्षुरववादकानां प्रवरः शरण्यं<sup>८</sup> ।  
 विभो<sup>९</sup> ममाज्ञां वद शीघ्रमद्य कर्तास्मि वाक्यं तव शुद्धसत्त्व<sup>१०</sup> ॥  
 अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो दक्षिणेन पाणिना राजानं शिरसि परि-

माजयन्नुवाच ।

अप्रमादेन संपाद्य<sup>११</sup> राजैश्वर्यं<sup>१२</sup> प्रवर्ततां<sup>१३</sup> ।  
 दुर्लभत्रीणि रत्नानि नित्यं पूजय पाथिव ॥

अपि च महाराज<sup>१४</sup> तेन भगवता<sup>१५</sup> तथागतेनार्हता<sup>१६</sup> सम्यक्-  
 शम्बुद्धेन तत्र च मम शासनमुपन्यस्तं सत्त्वसारथिवरेण<sup>१७</sup> गणमध्ये<sup>१८</sup>  
 परीक्षितं परिपाल्यं यत्नतोऽस्माभिः । राजाऽहं<sup>१९</sup> । स्थविर यथाऽहं  
 निर्दिष्टो भगवता तदेवानुष्ठीयते । कुतः ।

"स्तूपैर्विचित्रैर्गिरिशृङ्गकल्पैश्"<sup>२०</sup>  
 छत्रव्यजैश्चोच्छ्रितरत्नचित्रैः ।  
 "संगोभिता मे पृथिवी समन्ताद्"<sup>२१</sup>  
 वैस्तारिका धानुधराः कृताश्च<sup>२२</sup> ॥

अपि च ।

आत्मा पुत्रो<sup>१</sup> गृहं दाराः<sup>२</sup> पृथिवी कोशमेव च ।

न किञ्चिदपरित्यक्तं धर्मराजस्य शासने<sup>३</sup> ॥

स्थविरोपगुप्त आह । साधु साधु महाराज । एतदेवानुष्ठेयं ।

कुतः ।

ये 'धर्ममुपजीवन्ति कायैर्'<sup>४</sup> भोगैश्च जीवितैः<sup>५</sup> ।

गते काले न शोचन्ति इष्टं यान्ति सुरालयं ॥

यावद्<sup>६</sup> राजा महता<sup>७</sup> श्रीसमुदयेन<sup>८</sup> स्थविरोपगुप्तं राजकुले प्रवेशयित्वा सर्वाङ्गेणानुपरिगृह्य प्रज्ञप्त एवासने निषादयामास । स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरं मृदु सुमृदु<sup>९</sup> । तद्यथा तूलपिशुर्वा 'कर्पासपिशुर्वा ।

अथ राजा 'स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरसंस्पर्शमवगम्य'<sup>१०</sup> कृताञ्जलिरुवाच ।

मृदूनि तेऽङ्गानि उदारसत्त्व तूलोपमाङ्गं काशिकोपमं च<sup>११</sup> ।

अहं त्वघ्न्यः खरकर्कशाङ्गो निःस्पर्शग्रात्रः परुषाश्रयश्च ॥

स्थविर उवाच ।

दानं मनापं सुशुभं प्रणीतं दत्तं मया ह्यप्रतिपुद्गलस्य ।

न पांशुदानं हि मया प्रदत्तं यथा त्वयाऽदायि तथागतस्य<sup>१२</sup> ॥

राजाह । स्थविर ।

वालभावादहं पूर्व क्षेत्रं<sup>१३</sup> प्राप्य<sup>१४</sup> ह्यनुत्तरं ।

पांशून् रोपित्वांस्तत्र फलं यस्येदृशं मम ॥

अथ स्थविरो राजानं<sup>१</sup> संहर्षयन्नुवाच<sup>२</sup> । महाराज ।  
 पश्य क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं पांशुर्यत्र विरुह्यते ।  
 राजश्रीर्येन ते प्राप्ता आधिपत्यमनुत्तरं<sup>३</sup> ॥  
 श्रुत्वा च राजा विस्मयोत्फुल्लनेत्रः<sup>४</sup> अमात्यानाहूयोवाच ।  
 वलचक्रवर्तिराज्यं प्राप्तं मे पांशुदानमात्रेण ।  
 'केन भगवान् भवन्तो नार्चयितव्यः प्रयत्नेन'<sup>५</sup> ॥

अथ राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य पादयोर्निपत्योवाच । स्थविरोऽयं  
 मे मनोरथो ये भगवता बुद्धेन प्रदेशा अध्युषितास्तान्<sup>६</sup> अर्चयं । चिह्नानि  
 च कुर्यां<sup>७</sup> पश्चिमस्यां जनतायामनुग्रहार्थं<sup>८</sup> ।

स्थविर उवाच<sup>९</sup> । साधु महाराज 'शोभनस्ते चित्तोत्पादः'<sup>१०</sup> ।  
 अहं<sup>११</sup> प्रदर्शयिष्याम्यधुना ।

'बुद्धेनाध्युषिता देशास्तान् नमस्ये कृताञ्जलिः ।

गत्वा चिह्नानि तेष्वेव करिष्यामि न संशयः'<sup>१२</sup> ॥

अथ राजा चतुरङ्गवलकायं संनाह्य गन्धमाल्यपुष्पमादाय<sup>१३</sup>  
 स्थविरोपगुप्तसहायः<sup>१४</sup> संप्रस्थितः । अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानमशोकं  
 सर्वप्रथमेन लुम्बिनीवर्नं प्रवेशयित्वा दक्षिणं हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच ।  
 अस्मिन् महाराज प्रदेशे भगवान् जातः । आह च ।

इदं हि प्रथमं चैत्यं बुद्धस्योत्तमचक्षुषः ।

जातमात्रेह स भुनिः प्रक्रान्तः सप्तपदं भुवि ॥

1-2Chl "with a courteous countenance said". 2-3Chl "He whose field of merit (*kṣetra*) is incomparable can manage so that for a gift of dust the retribution be so great and precious." 4Chl "experienced joy that he never experienced before." 5Chl "That is why one must, with a zealous heart, make offerings to the Three Jewels (*triratnāni*)."<sup>6-7</sup>Chl *teṣu sarveṣu stūpān pratiṣṭhāpayāmi*. 6Chl *janatāyām śraddhām prasādañ ca utpādayitum*. MSS. add here: *āha ca. ye buddhena bhagavatā pradēśā adhyuṣitās tān artayan aham gatvā cihnāni caiva kuryām paścimāni janatām anukampārtham*. This is not found in the Chinese translations. 9Chl "The Venerable praised him with these words:"<sup>10-11</sup>Chl omits. 12Chl adds: *tān sarvān*. 13MSS. *ye buddhena bhagavatā dhyu*. 13-14Chl omits. 15Chl *sugandhipuṣpamālyagandhalepaiḥ sarvopahārāiḥ sthaviropagupṭam abhyarcya*. 16MSS. °*sahityaḥ*.

देवता प्राह<sup>१</sup> ।

मया हि दृष्टः कनकावदातः प्रजायमानो<sup>२</sup> द्विपदप्रधानः ।

पादानि सप्त क्रममाण एव श्रुताश्च वाचा<sup>३</sup> अपि तस्य शास्तुः ॥

राजाऽह । कथय<sup>४</sup> देवते कीदृशी भगवतो जायमानस्य श्रीर्बभूवेति<sup>५</sup> । देवता<sup>६</sup> प्राह । न शक्यं मया वाग्भिः संप्रकाशयितुमपि तु संक्षेपतः शृणु<sup>७</sup> ।

विनिर्मिताभा<sup>८</sup> कनकावदाता सैन्द्रे<sup>९</sup> त्रिलोके नयनाभिरामा<sup>१०</sup> ।

ससागरान्ता च मही सशैला महार्णवस्था इव नौ<sup>११</sup>श्चचाल ॥

यावद्राज्ञा जात्यां<sup>१२</sup> शतसहस्रं<sup>१३</sup> दत्तं । चैत्यं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य राजा प्रक्रान्तः । अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानं कपिलवस्तु निवेशयित्वा दक्षिण-हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो राज्ञः शुद्धोदनस्योपनामितः । तं<sup>१४</sup> द्वात्रिंशन्महापुरुषलक्षणालंकृतशरीरमसेचनकदर्शनं च दृष्ट्वा राजा सर्वशरीरेण बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतितः<sup>१५</sup> ।

इदं महाराज शाक्यवर्धं नाम देवकुलम्<sup>१६</sup> । अत्र बोधिसत्त्वो जातमात्र उपनीतो देवमर्चयिष्यतीति । सर्वदेवता<sup>१७</sup> च बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतिता । ततो राज्ञा शुद्धोदनेन बोधिसत्त्वो देवतानामप्ययं देव इति तेन बोधिसत्त्वस्य देवातिदेव<sup>१८</sup> इति नामधेयं कृतं । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो ब्राह्मणानां<sup>१९</sup> नैमित्तिकानां<sup>२०</sup> विपश्चिकानाम् उपदर्शितः<sup>२१</sup> । अस्मिन् प्रदेशेऽसितेन ऋषिणा निर्दिष्टो वुद्धो लोके भविष्यतीति ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 adds: "this *gāthā*". <sup>२</sup>Ch1 omits it. <sup>३</sup>Ch1 *lit.* "voice". MSS. *śrutā ca vācam api*. <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 "What happened at the moment of birth of the Adorned One?" <sup>६</sup>Ch1 *vrkṣa-de*. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 adds: "Then she recited this *gāthā*:" <sup>८</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>९</sup>*D sendre*. <sup>१०-११</sup>Ch1 "Human beings and gods were delighted at the sight of him." <sup>१२</sup>MSS. *nau cacāla*. <sup>१३</sup>Ch1 "in that place". <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 *lit.* "a hundred thousand ounces of gold". <sup>१५</sup>MSS. *dvātrīṃśatā ma*. <sup>१६-१७</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१८-१९</sup>Ch1 "I then he showed the place where people sacrificed to the gods of the Śākya." <sup>२०</sup>Ch1 "But the images of gods made of wood and clay came to venerate him and...". <sup>२१</sup>Ch1 "god among gods". Ch2 "god of gods". <sup>२२</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>२३</sup>MSS. *ñcīkā*. Ch1 omits. <sup>२४</sup>MSS. *tan*.

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महागज महाप्रजापत्या संवितः । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे लिपिजानं शिक्षापितः । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे हस्तिग्रीवायामश्वपृष्ठे ग्ने वग्वत्प्रहे तोमरग्रहेऽङ्कुलग्रहे कुलानृत्पामु विद्यासु पारगः संवृतः । इयं बोधिसत्त्वस्य व्यायामगाला वभूव । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो देवतागतमहत्सैः परिवृतः पण्डिभिः स्त्रीसहस्रैः सार्धं रतिमनुभूतवान् ।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो जीर्णानुरमृतसंदर्शनोद्विग्नो वनसंश्रितः । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे जम्बुच्छायायां निपद्य विविक्तं पापकैरकुशलैर्घर्मैः सविनर्कं सविचारं विवेकजं प्रीतिसुखमताम्रवसदृशं प्रयमथ्यातं मनापन्नः । अयं परिणते मय्याह्नेऽतिक्रान्ते भक्तकालसमयेऽज्येयां वृक्षायां छाया प्राचीननिम्ना प्राचीनप्रवणा प्राचीनप्राग्भारा जम्बुच्छाया” बोधिसत्त्वस्य कायं न जहानि । “दृष्ट्वा च पुनर्” राजा गुह्योदनः” सर्वगरीशेण बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोनिपतितः । अनेन द्वारेण बोधिसत्त्वो देवतागतमहत्सैः परिवृतोऽर्जुनगत्रे” कपिलवस्तुनो निर्गतः ।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वेन छन्दकस्याश्वमाभरणानि च दत्त्वा प्रतिनिवर्तितः । “आह च ।

“छन्दकामरणान्यश्वञ्चास्मिन् प्रतिनिवर्तितः” ।

निलपस्थायको वीरः प्रविष्टैकमनपोवनं” ॥

‘अस्मिन् प्रदेशे वोविसत्त्वो लुब्धकसकाशात् कामिकैर्वस्त्रैः<sup>१</sup>  
 काषायणि वस्त्राणि ग्रहाय<sup>२</sup> प्रव्रजितः<sup>३</sup> । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भार्गवेणा-  
 ऽश्रमेणोपनिमन्त्रितः<sup>४</sup> । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे वोविसत्त्वो राजा विन्ध्यसारे-  
 णार्वराज्येनोपनिमन्त्रितः । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे ‘आराडोद्रकमभिगतः ।  
 ‘आह च ।

उद्रकाऽराडका नाम ऋषयोऽस्मिन् तपोवने ।

अविगतार्यसत्त्वेन<sup>५</sup> पुत्रपेन्द्रेण तापिताः<sup>६</sup> ॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे वोविसत्त्वेन षड्वर्षाणि दुष्करं चीर्णं । ‘आह च ।

षड्वर्षाणि हि<sup>७</sup> ऋदुकं तपस्तप्त्वा महामुनिः ।

नायं मार्गो ह्यभिजाया इति ज्ञात्वा समत्यजत्<sup>८</sup> ॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे वोविसत्त्वेन नन्दाया नन्दवलायाञ्च ग्रामिक-  
 दुहितोः<sup>९</sup> सकाशात्<sup>१०</sup> षोडशगुणितं मधुपायसं<sup>११</sup> परिमुक्तं ।

‘आह च ।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे नन्दायाः<sup>१२</sup> मुक्तदा च मधुपायसं<sup>१३</sup> ।

वोविमूर्त्तं महावीरो<sup>१४</sup> जगाम ‘वदतां वरः<sup>१५</sup> ॥

‘अस्मिन् प्रदेशे वोविसत्त्वः कालिकेन<sup>१६</sup> नागराजेन ‘वोविमूर्त्त-  
 मभिगच्छन्<sup>१७</sup> संस्तुतः ।



आह<sup>१</sup> च ।

कालिकभुजगेन्द्रेण संस्तुतो वदतां वरः ।

प्रयातोऽनेन मार्गेण बोधिनण्डेऽमृतार्थिकः<sup>२</sup> ॥

अथ राजा स्यविरस्य पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिस्वाच ।

अपि<sup>३</sup> पव्येम नागेन्द्रं येन दृष्टस्तथागतः ।

ब्रजानोऽनेन मार्गेण मत्तनागेन्द्रविक्रमः<sup>४</sup> ॥

अथ कालिको<sup>५</sup> नागराजः स्यविरसमीपे स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलि-  
स्वाच । स्थविर किनाजापयसीति । अथ स्यविरो राजानमुवाच । अयं  
स नहाराज कालिको<sup>६</sup> नागराजा येन भगवान् अनेन<sup>७</sup> मार्गेण बोधिमूलं  
निर्गच्छन्<sup>८</sup> संस्तुतः । अथ राजा कृताञ्जलिः कालिकं<sup>९</sup> नागराजमुवाच<sup>१०</sup> ।

दृष्टस्त्वया ज्वलितकाञ्चनतुल्यवर्णः

वास्ता ममाऽप्रतिसमः शंरदेन्दुवक्त्रः<sup>११</sup> ।

आख्याहि मे दशवलस्य गुणैकदेशं

तत्कीदृगी वद हि श्रीः<sup>१२</sup> सुगते<sup>१३</sup> तदानीं<sup>१४</sup> ॥

कालिक<sup>१५</sup> उवाच । न शक्यं<sup>१६</sup> वाग्भिः संप्रकाशयितुमपि तु  
संक्षेपं शृणु ।

चरणतल<sup>१७</sup>पराहतः सशैलो

ह्यवनितलः<sup>१८</sup> प्रचचाल पङ्क्विकारं ।

रविकिरणविभाविका<sup>१९</sup> नृलोके

मुगतगगिद्युतिरक्षया<sup>२०</sup> मनोजा<sup>२१</sup> ॥

1-2 ChI omits. 1 MSS. *kālikena bhū*. 2 MSS. *ṛthinaḥ*. 3-4 ChI “ ‘Now I wish to question Kāla, the Nāgarāja, on the circumstances under which he had seen Buddha.’ Then the Venerable said to the Nāgarāja: ‘Quickly appear! Quickly appear! The king wishes to question you on that which took place when you saw Buddha.’ ” 5 ChI omits it. 6 ChI “Kāla”. 7-8 ChI *gāthayā* (lit. reciting one *gāthā*). 9-10 ChI *gāthām uvāca*. 11 ChI *sakalendu*. 12 MSS. *tada bhavan*. The Chinese reading is adopted here. 13 ChI “When he advanced towards the Bodhi-tree (*gate bodhimūlam* ?).” 14 ChI *nāgarāja*. 15 ChI *na śakyā sā śriḥ*. 16 ChI *talakatā sasindhūśailā*. 17 ChI *nir bhṣarū*. MSS. *tā saśailā avanis tadā*. 18 MSS. *kiraṇapra*. 19 MSS. *djyuti-sanniḥā*. 20-21 ChI *raviśaṣikiraṇādḥikaiḥ [triloke] sugata-tenākiraṇair diśā babhāse*.

यावद् राजा चैत्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रकान्तः । अथ स्यविरोपगुप्तो  
राजानं वोविमूलमुपनामयित्वा दक्षिणं करमभिप्रसार्योवाच । अस्मिन्  
प्रदेशे महाराज वोविमत्त्वेन महामंत्रीसहायेन सकलं भारखलं जित्वा-  
जुत्तरा मन्यक्सम्बोधिरभिसम्बुद्धा । आह च ।

इह मुनिवृषभेण वोविमूले तमुत्रिखलं विकृतं निरस्तमाद्यु ।

इदममृतमुदारमग्रचक्रं वाचि ह्यविगतमप्रतिपुद्गलेन तेन ॥

यावद् राजा वोवो मत्सहस्रं दत्तं । चैत्यं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य राजा  
प्रकान्तः । अथ स्यविरोपगुप्तो राजानमशोकमुवाच । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे  
भगवान् चतुर्णां महाराजानां सकाशात् चत्वारि शैलपयानि पात्राणि  
ग्रहाय एकपात्रमवियुक्तं । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे त्रपुषभलिलकयोर्वणिजोरपि  
पिण्डपात्रं प्रतिगृहीतं । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवान् "वाराणसीमभि-  
गच्छन् उपगणेनाजीविकेन संस्तुतः" । यावत् स्यविरो राजानम्  
ऋषिपतनम् उपनीय दक्षिणं हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे  
महाराज भगवता त्रिपरिवर्तं द्वादशाकारं धार्म्यं धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितं ।  
आह च ।

शुभं धर्ममयं चक्रं संसारवित्तिवर्तये ।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे नाथेन प्रवर्तितमनुत्तरं ॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे जटिलमहस्रं प्रजाजितं । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे राज्ञो  
विश्विसारस्य धर्मं देशितं । राजा च विश्विसारेण सत्यानि दृष्टानि

'चतुरर्शातिभिश्च देवतासहस्रैर्' अनेकैश्च मागवकैर्' ब्राह्मणगृहपति-  
सहस्रैः' । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवता शक्रस्य देवेन्द्रस्य धर्मो देशितः ।  
'शक्रेण च मत्स्यानि वृष्टानि चतुरर्शातिभिश्च देवतासहस्रैः' । अस्मिन्  
प्रदेशे महाप्रातिहार्यं विद्विषितं । अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवान् देवेषु  
त्रयस्त्रिंशेषु वर्षा उपिन्वा' सातुर्जनयित्र्या धर्मं देशयित्वा देवगण-  
परिवृतः' अवतीर्णः' । विस्मरेण यावत् स्यविरो राजानमशोकं  
कुचिनगरीमुपनामयित्वा दक्षिणं करतलमभिप्रसार्योवाच । अस्मिन्  
प्रदेशे महाराज भगवान्' सकलं बुद्धकार्यं कृत्वा निरूपयिष्ये' निर्वणि-  
धानी परिनिर्वृतः । "आह च ।

लोकं सदेवमनुजानुरयक्षनागमक्षय्यवर्मविनये मतिमान् विनीय ।

वैनेयसत्त्वविग्हादु'पयान्तवृद्धिः शान्तिं गतः परमकारुणिको महर्षिः' ॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा सृच्छिनः' पतितः' । यावज् जलपरिषेकं कृत्वो-  
त्थापितः । अयं राजा कथंचित् संजामुपलभ्य परिनिर्वाणं गतसहस्रं दत्त्वा  
चैत्र्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य' पादयोर्निपत्योवाच । स्यविर' अयं मे मनोरथो ये च  
भगवता श्रावका अग्रतायां निर्दिष्टास्नेपां वरीण्युजां' करिष्यामीति ।  
स्यविर उवाच । माधु माधु महाराज । "शोभनस्ते चित्तोत्पादः' ।  
स्यविरो राजानमशोकं जेतवन् प्रवेशयित्वा दक्षिणं करमभिप्रसार्योवाच ।  
अयं महाराज स्यविरशाग्निपुत्रस्य स्तूपः । क्रियतामस्याचनमिति ।  
राजाह । के तस्य गुणा बभूवुः । स्यविर उवाच । "स हि द्वितीययास्ता  
वर्मसेनाविपतिवर्मत्रकप्रवर्तनः' प्रजावतामग्रां निर्दिष्टो भगवता ।

सर्वलोकस्य या प्रज्ञा स्थापयित्वा तथागतं ।  
शारिपुत्रस्य प्रज्ञायाः कलां नार्हति षोडशीं ॥

‘आह च !

सद्धर्मचक्रमतुलं यज् जिनेन प्रवर्तितं ।  
अनुवृत्तं हि तत्<sup>३</sup> तेन शारिपुत्रेण धीमता<sup>४</sup> ॥  
कस्तस्य साधु बुद्धादन्यः<sup>५</sup> पुरुषः शारद्वतस्येह ।  
ज्ञात्वा<sup>६</sup> गुणगणनिधिं वक्तुं शक्नोति निरवशेषात् ॥

ततो राजा प्रीतमनाः स्थविरशारद्वतीपुत्रस्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा  
कृताञ्जलिरुवाच<sup>७</sup> ।

शारद्वतीपुत्रमहं भक्त्या वन्दे<sup>८</sup> विमुक्तभवसङ्गं<sup>९</sup> ।  
लोकप्रकाशकीर्तिं<sup>१०</sup> ज्ञानवतामुत्तमं वीरं<sup>११</sup> ॥

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविर<sup>१२</sup>महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपमुप-  
शंयन्नुवाच । अयं<sup>१३</sup> महाराज स्थविर<sup>१४</sup>महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपः<sup>१५</sup> ।  
। क्रयतामस्यार्चनमिति । राजाऽह । के तस्य गुणा वभूवुरिति । स्थविर  
उवाच । स हि ऋद्धिमतामग्नो निर्दिष्टो भगवता येन दक्षिणेन पादा-  
ङ्गुष्ठेन<sup>१६</sup> शक्रस्य देवेन्द्रस्य वैजयन्तः<sup>१७</sup> प्रासादः प्रकम्पितो नन्दोपनन्दौ  
नागराजानौ<sup>१८</sup> विनीतौ । ‘आह च ।

शक्रस्य येन भवनं पादाङ्गुष्ठेन कम्पितं ।  
पूजनीयः प्रयत्नेन कोलितः स द्विजोत्तमः ॥  
भुजगेश्वरौ प्रतिभयौ दान्तौ येनातिदुर्दमौ<sup>१९</sup> लोके ।  
कस्तस्य शुद्धबुद्धेः<sup>२०</sup> पारं गच्छेद् गुणार्णवस्य ॥

यावद् राजा महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा कृता-  
ञ्जलिरुवाच<sup>२१</sup> ।

1-3 Chl omits. 2 MSS. tam. 4 MSS. buddhānyah. 4-5 Chl saṅkṣepād  
vinā. 6 Chl “Adoring Śāriputra he recited this gāthā:” 7-8 Chl  
omits. 9 Chl °saṅgaḥ sah. 10 Chl °prapūrṇakīrtir. 11 Chl °ttamo vīraḥ.  
12 Chl omits mahā. 13 MSS. idaṁ. 14 MSS. °paṁ. 15 Chl pādēna. 16 Chl  
omits. 17 = rājau. 18-19 Chl “I said it briefly.” 19 MSS. add tau  
after dāntau. 20 Chl vai vacobhiḥ. 21 Chl gāthām babhāṣe.

स्थविर उवाच । स महात्माऽल्पवाधानाम् अग्रो<sup>१</sup> निर्दिष्टो  
भगवता । अपि च न तेन कस्यचिद् द्विपदिका<sup>२</sup> गाथा श्राविता ।  
राजाऽह । दीयतामत्र काकणिः<sup>३</sup> । यावदमात्यैरभिहितः । देव किमर्थं  
तुल्येष्ववस्थितेष्वत्र काकणी दीयत इति । राजाऽह । श्रूयतामत्रा-  
भिप्रायो मम ।

आज्ञाप्रदीपेन मनोगृहस्थं हृतं तनो यद्यपि तेन कृत्स्नं ।

अल्पेच्छभावात् कृतं हि तेन यथा कृतं सत्त्वहितं तदन्यैः<sup>४</sup> ॥

सा प्रत्याहता तस्यैव राज्ञः पादमूले निपतिता<sup>५</sup> । यावद् अमात्या  
विस्मिता ऊचुः । अहो तस्य महात्मनोऽल्पेच्छता । बभूवानयाप्यनर्थी ।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविरानन्दस्य स्तूपमुपदर्शयन्नुवाच ।  
अयं<sup>६</sup> स्थविरानन्दस्य स्तूपः<sup>७</sup> । क्रियतामस्यार्चनमिति । राजाऽह । के  
तस्य गुणा बभूवुरिति । स्थविर उवाच । स हि भगवत उपस्थायको  
बभूव । बहुश्रुतानामग्रयो प्रवचनग्राहकश्चेति । आह च<sup>८</sup> ।

मुनिपात्र<sup>९</sup>रक्षणपटुः स्मृतिधृतिमतिनिश्चितः श्रुतसमुद्रः<sup>१०</sup> ।

विस्पष्ट<sup>११</sup>-मधुरवचनः सुरनरमहितः सदानन्दः<sup>१२</sup> ॥

सम्बुद्धचित्तकुशलः सर्वत्र<sup>१३</sup> विचक्षणो<sup>१४</sup> गुणकरण्डः ।

जिनसंस्तुतो जितरणः सुरनरमहितः सदानन्दः<sup>१५</sup> ॥

<sup>1</sup>Ch1 *bādhāhīnānām alpeccānām cāgro* ("best of those who are free from failings and who have only a little desire"). <sup>2</sup>Ch1 "Never did he instruct people a *gāthā* of a quarter *pāda* (*ekapādikā gāthā*)." Ch2 "Never did he speak to people one or two *pādas* of the Law (*ekapādo dvipādo vā dharmo bhāṣitaḥ*)." <sup>3</sup>Ch1 reads: "a piece of gold". <sup>4-6</sup>Ch1 "Because he has liberated himself (alone) and not others. And hence I give him only a single piece (of gold)." <sup>5</sup>A *ahanyebhāvān*. <sup>6-7</sup>Ch1 "The spirit in the *stūpa* refused (it) and returned (the piece) to the king." <sup>7</sup>CD °*tāh*. <sup>8</sup>Ch1 omits it. <sup>9</sup>MSS. *imaṁ*. <sup>10</sup>MSS. *stūpaṁ*. <sup>11-12</sup>Ch1 "Tathāgata has designated him as the best of those who preserved (Dharma) in its totality." <sup>13</sup>Ch1 °*dharmā*°. <sup>14-15</sup>Ch1 "The strength of his mind (*lit* thought), his wisdom and the extent of his knowledge (*śruti bahuśruti*) were comparable to the ocean." <sup>16</sup>Ch1 "marvellous" <sup>17</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>18</sup>Ch1 "He was perfectly good and full of merits." <sup>18-19</sup>Ch1 "He was the casket confining the multitude of *dharmas*."

'यावद् राजा तस्य स्तूपे कोटिर्दत्ता । यावद् अमात्यैरभिहितः ।  
किमर्थमयं देव सर्वेषां मकारादधिकतरं पूज्यते' ।

राजाह । श्रूयतामभिप्रायः' ।

यत्तच्छरीरं वदतां' वग्न्य' धर्मस्मितो धर्ममयं विशुद्धं' ।

तद् धारितं तेन' विगोकनाम्ना तस्माद् विशेषेण स पूजनीयः' ॥

धर्मप्रदीपो ज्वलति प्रजानु क्लेशान्धकारान्तकरो' यदद्य ।

तत् तत्रभावात्' मुगतेन्द्रमूनोस्तस्माद् विशेषेण स पूजनीयः' ॥

यथा नामुद्रं' मलिलं समुद्रैर्धार्येत कच्चित्' न हि गोष्पदेन ।

नाथेन तद्धर्ममवेक्ष्य भावं सूत्रान्तकोज्यं स्थविरोऽभिपिक्तः' ॥

अथ राजा स्यविगणां स्तूपार्चनं कृत्वा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य  
पादयोनिपत्य प्रीतिमना उवाच' ।

मानुष्यं मरुतीकृतं क्रतुगतैरिष्टेन यत्' प्राप्यते

राज्यैर्वदर्यगुणैश्चलैश्च विभ्रवैः मारं गृहीतं परं ।

लोकं त्रैत्यगतैरलङ्कृतमिदं ज्वेताम्रकूटप्रभैः

अस्याद्याप्रतिनस्य गोमतकृते' किं तो' कृतं दुष्करं ॥ इति ॥

यावद् राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य<sup>१</sup> प्रणामं कृत्वा प्रक्रान्तः ।

यावद् राज्ञाऽशोकेन जातौ बोधौ धर्मचक्रे परिनिर्वाणे एकैक-  
शतसहस्रं<sup>२</sup> दत्तं । तस्य बोधौ विशेषतः प्रसादो जात<sup>३</sup> इह भगवता-  
ऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरभिसम्बुद्धेति । स यानि विशेषयुक्तानि  
रत्नानि तानि बोधिं प्रेषयति ।

अथ राज्ञोऽशोकस्य तिष्यरक्षिता नामाग्रमहिषी । तस्या बुद्धि-  
रुत्पन्ना । “अयं राजा मया सार्धं रतिमनुभवति<sup>४</sup> विशेषयुक्तानि च<sup>५</sup>  
रत्नानि बोधौ प्रेषयति<sup>६</sup> । तथा ‘मातङ्गी व्याहरिता । शक्यसि’<sup>७</sup>  
त्वं बोधिं मम सपत्नीं प्रघातयितुं<sup>८</sup> । तयाऽभिहितं । शक्यामि किन्तु  
कार्षापणान् देहीति<sup>९</sup> ।

यावन् मातङ्ग्या बोधिवृक्षो मन्त्रैः परिजप्तः<sup>१०</sup> सूत्रं च बद्धं<sup>११</sup> ।  
यावद् बोधिवृक्षः “शोष्ठुमारब्धः । ततो राजपुरुषै राज्ञे निवेदितं ।  
देव बोधिवृक्षः शुष्यत<sup>१२</sup> इति । आह च ।

यत्रोपविष्टेन तथागतेन कृत्स्नं जगद्बुद्धमिदं यथावद्<sup>१३</sup> ।

सर्वज्ञता चाधिगता नरेन्द्र बोधिद्रुमोऽसौ निधनं प्रयाति ॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा मूर्च्छितो भूमौ पतितः । यावज् जलसेकं दत्त्वा<sup>१४</sup>  
उत्थापितः । अथ राजा कथंचित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य प्ररुदन्नुवाच ।

दृष्ट्वा न्वहं तं द्रुमराजमूलं जानामि दृष्टोऽद्य मया स्वयम्भूः ।

नाथद्रुमे चैव गते प्रणाशं प्राणाः प्रयास्यन्ति ममापि नाशं ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 *yāvad rājā tā gāthā bhāṣitvā daṇḍavat*. <sup>२</sup>According to Ch2, here begins another Avadāna called: “Offerings to the Bodhi-tree (*bodhiṃṛkṣārcanaṃ nāmā’vadānaṃ*).” <sup>३</sup>Ch1 *ekaikasya stūpe śatasahasraṃ kārṣāpaṇaṃ* (“a hundred thousand pieces of gold”). <sup>४</sup>MSS. *prasāda-jāta*. Ch1 “He respected more the *stūpa* of the Bodhi-tree.” <sup>५-६</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *°yuktānīs ca*. Ch1 “the beautiful jewels”. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 adds: *mahyaṃ na dadāti*. <sup>९</sup>Ch1 *caṇḍāla(lī)mātaṅga(gī)*. Ch2: “a Caṇḍāla woman (*caṇḍālī*)”. <sup>१०</sup>AB *śekyasi*. <sup>१०-११</sup>Ch1 “Can you do her harm, by spell, for my sake?” <sup>११</sup>MSS. *°ghātītum*. <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 adds: “She promised to give her *kārṣāpaṇa*. The *Mātaṅga(gī)* did not disclose her intentions.” <sup>१३</sup>Ch1 *ṛkṣe mantraḥ pariḥptaḥ*. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 adds: “with an intention to destroy it, by incantations”. <sup>१५</sup>MSS. *śuskitum*. <sup>१६</sup>A *śusita*. <sup>१७</sup>Ch1 “And he attained to the Way of Bodhi.” <sup>१८</sup>Ch1 adds: “after a long time”. MSS. *jala-ṣekaṃ da°*.

चतुर्दिशमायाचितुमारब्धः । ये भगवतो बुद्धस्य श्रावकास्ते ममानु-  
ग्रहायागच्छन्तु ।

अपि च<sup>१</sup> ।

सम्यग्गता<sup>२</sup> ये सुगतस्य शिष्याः शान्तेन्द्रिया निर्जितकामदोषाः ।  
सम्माननार्हं नरदेवपूजिता<sup>३</sup> आयान्तु तेऽस्मिन्ननुकम्पया मम ॥  
प्रशमदमरता विमुक्तसङ्गाः प्रवरसुताः सुगतस्य धर्मराजाः ।  
असुरसुरनरार्चितार्यै<sup>४</sup> वृत्तास्त्वह मदनुग्रहणात् समभ्युपेयुः<sup>५</sup> ॥  
वसन्ति काश्मीरपुरे सुरम्ये<sup>६</sup> ये चापि धीरास्तमसोवनेऽस्मिन्<sup>७</sup> ।  
महावने रेवतके य<sup>८</sup> आर्या अनुग्रहार्थं मम तेऽभ्युपेयुः ॥  
अनवतप्त<sup>९</sup> हृदे निवसन्ति ये गिरिनदीषु च पर्वतकन्दरे<sup>१०</sup> ।  
जिनसुताः खलु ध्यानरताः सदा<sup>११</sup> समुदयन्त्वह तेऽद्य कृपावलाः<sup>१२</sup> ॥  
शैरीषके ये प्रवरे विमाने वसन्ति पुत्रा वदतां वरस्य<sup>१३</sup> ।  
अनुग्रहार्थं मम ते विशोका ह्यायान्तु कारुण्यनिविष्टभावाः<sup>१४</sup> ॥  
गन्धमादनशैले च ये वसन्ति महौजसः<sup>१५</sup> ।  
इहायान्तु<sup>१६</sup> हि कारुण्यमुत्पाद्योपनिमन्त्रिताः<sup>१७</sup> ॥

1-2Ch1 °*diśam ālokaṣṭam ārabdhah. āha ca.* 3Ch1 °*dr̥ṣṭo* ("You who practise the right view or *samyag-dr̥ṣṭi*"). 4Ch1 [*kuśāla-*]  
*mūlais ca dhyānair jītakāma*° ("by your 'roots' and meditation...").  
5Ch1 *nara-deva-dānava*°. 7ACD °*ācītārya*°, B °*āritārya*°. 6-8Ch1  
"You all who have taken delight in *dhyāna* and ecstasy (*dhyāna-*  
*samādhiratāh*), and have attained to wisdom, members of the Saṅgha  
who have (attained to) deliverance, true and incomparable  
sons who have got a new life in the Law of Sugata, accept my  
invitation in compassion (for me)." 8B °*bhyuṣentu*, C°*pantu*, rest  
°*bhyuṣaintu*. 9-10Ch1 "those who are free from fear day and  
night." Ch2 mentions Tāmasavana after Mahāvana. Ch1 omits  
Tāmasavana. 10MSS. °*stamasā*°. 11MSS. °*take raye 'ryā*. Ch1 "Saints  
of Mahāvana and...". 12Ch read "Anava" for Anavatapta. Ch1  
"Those who live in the precipitous neighbouring places of the  
great lake...." 13MSS. °*su saṅgarvatakandareṣu*. 14MSS. *samudayā*°. 15  
Ch1 omits this line. 16Ch1 "Those who live in the grottoes of  
the *chō-li*." Ch2 "Those who live in the palace of *chō-li-cha*."  
D *śerīṣake*. 17Ch1 omits this line. 18Ch1 "Those who live on the  
mounts of perfume (Gandha-mādana)." 19Ch1 *lit.* "In compas-  
sion, accept my invitation." MSS. omit *hi*.



एवमुक्ते च राज्ञि<sup>१</sup> त्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां संनिपतितानि ।  
तत्रैकं शतसहस्रमर्हतां द्वे शैक्षाणां<sup>२</sup> पृथग्जनकल्याणकानां च<sup>३</sup> । न  
कश्चिद् वृद्धासनमाक्रम्यते स्म । राजाऽह । किमर्थं वृद्धासनं तन्  
नाक्रम्यते । तत्र यशो नाम्ना वृद्धः षडभिज्ञः<sup>४</sup> । स उवाच । महाराज  
वृद्धस्य तदासनमिति । राजाऽह । अस्ति स्थविर त्वत्सकाशादन्यो  
वृद्धतर इति । स्थविर उवाच । अस्ति महाराज । वदतां<sup>५</sup> वरेण<sup>६</sup>  
वशिना<sup>७</sup> निर्दिष्टः सिंहनादिनामग्रचः । पिण्डोलभरद्वाजस्यैतद्<sup>८</sup>  
अग्रासनं नृपते<sup>९</sup> ।

अथ राजा कदम्बपुष्पवदाहृष्टरोमकूपः<sup>१०</sup> कथयति । अस्ति  
कश्चिद् बुद्धदर्शी भिक्षुर्ध्यायत इति<sup>११</sup> ।

स्थविर उवाच । अस्ति महाराज पिण्डोलभरद्वाजो<sup>१२</sup> नाम्ना  
बुद्धदर्शी तिष्ठत इति ।

राजा कथयति । स्थविर, शक्यः सोऽस्माभिर्द्रष्टुमिति । स्थविर  
उवाच । "महाराज इदानीं द्रक्ष्यसि । अयं तस्य आगमनकाल इति"<sup>१३</sup> ।  
अथ राजा प्रीतिमना उवाच ।

लाभः परः स्याद् अनुलो<sup>१४</sup> ममेह महासुखश्चाय<sup>१५</sup> मनुत्तमश्च ।

पश्याम्यहं यत्तमुदारसत्त्वं साक्षाद् भरद्वाजसगोत्रनाम<sup>१६</sup> ॥

ततो राजा कृतकरपुटो गगनतलावसक्तदृष्टिरवस्थितः । अथ<sup>१७</sup>  
स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजोऽनेकैरर्हत्सहस्रैरर्धचन्द्राकारेणोपगूढो राजहंस

इव गगनतलादवतीर्यं वृद्धान्ते निषसाद । स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजं  
दृष्ट्वा तान्यनेकानि भिक्षुशतसहस्राणि प्रत्युपस्थितानि<sup>१</sup> ।

अद्राक्षीद् राजा पिण्डोलभरद्वाजं श्वेतपलित<sup>२</sup>शिरसं प्रलम्बभ्रू-  
ललाटं<sup>३</sup> निगूढाक्षितारकं प्रत्येकबुद्धाश्रयं<sup>४</sup> । दृष्ट्वा च राजा मूलनिकृत्त<sup>५</sup>  
इव द्रुमः<sup>६</sup> सर्वशरीरेण स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजस्य पादयोः पतितः ।  
मुखतुण्डकेन च पादावनुपरिमाज्योत्थाय तौ<sup>७</sup> जानुमण्डलौ पृथिवीतले  
प्रतिष्ठाप्य<sup>८</sup> कृताञ्जलिः स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजं निरीक्षमाणः  
प्ररुदन्नुवाच ।

यदा मया शत्रुगणान् निहत्य प्राप्ता समुद्राभरणा सशैला ।

एकातपत्रा पृथिवी तदा मे प्रीतिर्न सा या<sup>९</sup> स्थविरं निरीक्ष्य<sup>१०</sup> ॥

त्वद्दर्शनाद्<sup>११</sup> भवति दृष्टोऽद्य तथागतः । करुणालाभात् त्वद्दर्शना-  
च्च द्विगुणप्रसादो ममोत्पन्नः<sup>१२</sup> । अपि च स्थविर दृष्टस्ते त्रैलोक्यनाथो<sup>१३</sup>  
गुरुर्मे भगवान् बुद्ध इति<sup>१४</sup> । ततः स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाज उभाभ्यां  
पाणिभ्यां<sup>१५</sup> भ्रुवमुन्नाम्य राजानमशोकं निरीक्षमाण उवाच ।

दृष्टो मया ह्यसकृदप्रतिमो महर्षिः<sup>१६</sup>

सन्तप्तकाञ्चनसमोपमतुल्यतेजः<sup>१७</sup> ।

द्वात्रिंश<sup>१८</sup>लक्षणधरः शरदिन्दुवक्त्रो<sup>१९</sup>

ब्राह्मस्वराधिकरणो ह्यरणाविहारी<sup>२०</sup> ॥

similar to a demilune and to the king of cranes accompanied by several thousands of myriads of Arhat descended. He came to take his seat, in front of the Sthaviras. The assistants numbering three lakhs all got up and paid homage to him."

<sup>1</sup>Chl: cf. above. <sup>2</sup>AB °parita°. <sup>3</sup>Chl reads: "eye-brows thick".

<sup>3-4</sup>Chl "whose body showed (auspicious) marks and submarks of a Pratyeka°." <sup>5</sup>MSS. °nikṛnta°. <sup>5-6</sup>Chl omits. <sup>7-8</sup>Chl "He knelt down after the manner of the hu." <sup>8-10</sup>Chl "Then he recited this gāthā: 'Although Tathāgata has entered into Nirvāṇa, you fill his office (sāntim gate tathāgate tvaṁ buddhakāryam kuruse). You are living, O Venerable, in compassion for me; give me your instruction which I shall follow (lit. I shall conform my conduct).'"

<sup>9</sup>MSS. me; cf. p. 78. last line. <sup>11-12</sup>Chl "Having recited this gāthā, the king asked the Venerable:" <sup>13-14</sup>Chl tathāgataḥ. <sup>15</sup>MSS. bhūva°. <sup>14-16</sup>Chl sa uvāca. dṛṣṭo mayā'sau. <sup>16-17</sup>Chl kāñcanastūpatulya-varṇaḥ. <sup>18</sup>MSS. °trīṁśallakṣa°. <sup>19</sup>Chl sakalendu°. <sup>19-20</sup>Chl "His voice

राजाऽह् । स्थविर कुत्र ते भगवान् दृष्टः 'कयं चेति' । स्थविर उवाच । यदा महाराज भगवान् विजितमारपरिवारः<sup>१</sup> पञ्चभिरर्ह-  
च्छतैः सार्व प्रथमतो राजगृहे वर्षामुपितो<sup>२</sup>ऽहं तत्कालं तत्रैवासम् ।  
मया<sup>३</sup> स दक्षिणीयः सम्यग् दृष्ट इति । आह च<sup>४</sup> ।

वीतरागैः परिवृतो वीतरागो महामुनिः ।

यदा गजगृहे वर्षा उपितः स तथागतः ॥

तत्कालमामं<sup>५</sup> तत्राहं सुबुद्धस्य तदन्तिके ।

यथा पश्यसि मां साक्षादेवं दृष्टो मया मुनिः<sup>६</sup> ॥

यदापि महाराज भगवता श्रावस्त्यां तीर्थ्यान् विजयार्थं  
महाप्रातिहार्यं कृतं बुद्धावतंसकं यावदकनिष्ठभवनं<sup>७</sup> निर्मितं महत्  
तत्कालं तत्रैवाहमासम्<sup>८</sup> । मया तद् बुद्धविक्रीडितं दृष्टमिति ।  
आह च<sup>९</sup> ।

तीर्थ्यां<sup>१०</sup> यदा भगवता कुपथप्रयाता

ऋद्धिं<sup>११</sup>प्रभावविधिना खलु निर्गृहीताः ।

विक्रीडितं द्यवलयस्य तदा ह्युदारं

दृष्टं मया तु नृप हर्षकरं प्रजानां ॥

यदापि महाराज भगवता देवेषु त्रयस्त्रिंशेषु वर्षा<sup>१२</sup> उपित्वा<sup>१३</sup>  
सानुर्जनयित्र्या धर्मं देवयित्वा देवगणपरिवृतः सांकाश्ये<sup>१४</sup> नगरेऽवती-  
र्णोऽहं तत्कालं तत्रैवासम् । "मया सा देवमनुष्यसंपदा दृष्टा उत्पलवर्णया  
च निर्मिता चक्रवर्तिसंपदा इति ।

(similar to that of) Brahmā was profound and marvellous. The great Compassionate One had a cave for his dwelling."

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२</sup>MSS. *varṣām upagato*. Chl lit. "While he was in his festival residence." <sup>३</sup>MSS. *vāsan mayā*. <sup>४</sup>Chl "I saw the field of merit prosper (*kṣetrasya upāko mayā dṛṣṭah*)."<sup>५</sup>AC *māsan*. <sup>६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>७</sup>ABC *bhagavanāni*. <sup>८</sup>MSS. *māsan*. <sup>९</sup>Chl "In the kingdom of Śrāvastī, when he showed the great supernatural transformations to subdue the heretics: (when) by charm, he made Buddhas appear who were magnificently adorned and who formed a series that rose up to the heaven of Akanisṭha, then again, I was there." <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits this *śloka*. <sup>११</sup>ABC *riḍdh*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१३</sup>MSS. *saṅkāśye*. <sup>१४</sup>MSS. *vāsan mayā*. Chl: cf. p. 99.

यदावतीर्णो वदतां वरिष्ठो वर्षामुषित्वा खलु देवलोके ।

तत्राप्यहं सन्निहितो बभूव दृष्टो मयाऽसौ मुनिरग्रसत्त्वः<sup>१</sup> ॥

यदा महाराज सुमागधया अनाथपिण्डदुहित्रा<sup>२</sup> उपनिमन्त्रितः  
पञ्चभिरहच्छतैः सार्धमृद्ध्या<sup>३</sup> पुण्डवर्धनं<sup>४</sup> गतस्तदाहं ऋद्ध्या पर्वतशैलं  
ग्रहाय गगनतलमाक्रम्य<sup>५</sup> पुण्डवर्धनं गतः । 'त्वन्निमित्तं च मे भगवताऽज्ञा  
क्षिप्ता । न तावत्ते परिनिर्वातव्यं यावद्धर्मो नान्तर्हित इति । आह च ।

यदा जगामर्द्धिबलेन नायकः सुमागधायोपनिमन्त्रितो गुरुः ।

तदा गृहीत्वर्द्धिबलेन पर्वतं<sup>६</sup> जगाम तूर्णं खलु पुण्डवर्धनं ॥

आज्ञा तदा शाक्यकुलोदितेन दत्ता च मे कारुणिकेन<sup>७</sup> तेन ।

तावन्न ते निर्वृतिरभ्युपेया अन्तर्हितो यावदयं न धर्मः<sup>८</sup> ॥

यदापि महाराज त्वया पूर्वं बालभावाद्<sup>९</sup> भगवतो राजगृहं  
पिण्डाय प्रविष्टस्य सक्तुं<sup>१०</sup> दास्यामीति<sup>१०</sup> पांश्वञ्जलिर्भगवतः पात्रे  
प्रक्षिप्तो राघगुप्तेन<sup>११</sup> चानुमोदितं त्वं<sup>१२</sup> च भगवता निर्दिष्टोऽयं दारको  
वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य मम पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम राजा भविष्यति  
चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती धार्मिको धर्मराजा<sup>१३</sup> यो मे शरीरधातुकं वैस्तारिकं<sup>१४</sup>  
करिष्यति चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यत्यहं तत्कालं  
तत्रैवासम्<sup>१५</sup> । आह च ।

यदा पांश्वञ्जलिर्दत्तस्त्वया बुद्धस्य भाजने ।

बालभावात् प्रसादित्वा तत्रैवाहं तदाऽभवम्<sup>१६</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 "When the Bhikṣuṇī Utpalā (Ch1 "lotus-flower," Ch2 "Utpalavarnikā") transformed herself magically into a Cakravartin king (*cakravarti-sampadā nirmitā*) and when her (his) thousand sons all prostrated themselves at the feet of Buddha, I was also there." <sup>२</sup>Ch1 omits *anātha*<sup>०</sup>, and adds: *pūrṇavaradhane buddha*. <sup>३</sup>Ch1 "Everyone showing supernatural transformations arrived at the town of Pūrṇavar<sup>०</sup> ("full riches")." <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 "On that occasion, I transformed myself magically, so as to be seated in a grotto of jewels of a jewel-mountain." <sup>६</sup>MSS. *tannimittam ca ye*. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *śailam*. <sup>८-९</sup>C<sup>१</sup>l omits. <sup>१०</sup>MSS. *kāruṇikara*. <sup>११</sup>ABC *nirvṛtī*<sup>०</sup>. MSS. *°rābhya*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>१२</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१३</sup>Ch1 adds: *kṛtāñjalīnā*. <sup>१४-१५</sup>Ch1 simply reads: "At the moment when Buddha made a prophecy about you, I could see him as well." <sup>१६</sup>= *rājo*. <sup>१७</sup>MSS. *°kām*. <sup>१८</sup>MSS. *°vāsī*. <sup>१९</sup>MSS. *°bhuvan*.

राजाऽह । शतसहस्रत्रयं दास्यामीत्यार्यसङ्घे । कुम्भसहस्रेण च बोधिं स्नपयिष्यामि । 'मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति' ।

यावत्<sup>१</sup> कुनालेन चतस्रोऽङ्गुलय उद्विष्यता । ततो राजा रुषितो<sup>२</sup> राधगुप्तमुवाच । अहो राधगुप्त कोऽयमस्माभिः सार्धं प्रतिद्वन्द्वयति अलोकज्ञः ।

रुषितं<sup>३</sup> च राजानमवेक्ष्य<sup>४</sup> राधगुप्तो राज्ञः<sup>५</sup> पादयोर्निपत्योवाच<sup>६</sup> । देव कस्य शक्तिर्नरेन्द्रेण सार्धं विस्पर्धितुं भवेत् । 'कुनालो गुणवान् पित्रा सार्धं विकुरुते' । अथ राजा दक्षिणेन परिवृत्य कुनालमवलोक्योवाच । स्थविर अहं कोशं स्थापयित्वा<sup>७</sup> राज्यमन्तःपुरममात्यगणमात्मानं च कुनालं 'चार्यसङ्घे निर्यातयामि'<sup>८</sup> । सुवर्णरूप्यस्फटिकवैडूर्यमयैः<sup>९</sup> पञ्चकुम्भसहस्रैः<sup>१०</sup> 'र्नागन्धपूर्णैः'<sup>११</sup> क्षीरचन्दनकुङ्कुमकर्पूरवासितैर्महाबोधिं स्नपयिष्यामि । पुष्पशतसहस्राणि च बोधिप्रमुखे चार्यसङ्घे ददामि<sup>१२</sup> । मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति । 'आहं च ।

राज्यं समृद्धं हि'<sup>१३</sup> संस्थाप्य कोशमन्तः<sup>१४</sup> 'पुरामात्यगणं च सर्वं ।

ददामि सङ्घे गुणपात्रभूते आत्माकुनालं च गुणोपपन्नं'<sup>१५</sup> ॥

ततो राजा पिण्डोलभरद्वाजप्रमुखे भिक्षुसङ्घे निर्यातयित्वा<sup>१६</sup> बोधिवृक्षस्य च चतुर्दिशं वारं वद्ध्वा स्वयमेव च वारमभिरुह्य चतुर्भिः कुम्भसहस्रैः<sup>१७</sup> बोधिस्नपनं कृतवान् । 'कृतमात्रे च बोधिस्नपने बोधिवृक्षो यथापौराणः संदृत्तः । वक्ष्यति'<sup>१८</sup> हि ।

<sup>१-२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२</sup>MSS. °varṣi°. <sup>३</sup>Chl tataḥ punaḥ. <sup>४</sup>Chl omits. <sup>५</sup>Chl omits. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl "having kneeled down replied." <sup>८-९</sup>Chl "Kunāla is a child. It is a little boy who plays with his father." <sup>१०</sup>MSS °kurva°. <sup>११</sup>Chl "I shall use up my treasure;" it omits rājyaṁ. Ch2 agrees with the text which reads: "the king reserves his treasure." MSS. sthaviro'ham kośaṁ sthāpa°. <sup>१२</sup>Chl adds: "and others". <sup>१३-१४</sup>MSS. omit. <sup>१५</sup>MSS. °mayānām. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. °hasrāṇi nānā°. <sup>१७</sup>MSS. °pūrṇāni. <sup>१८-१९</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१९</sup>MSS. °varṣikam iti. <sup>१९</sup>MSS. omit it. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२०</sup>MSS. °śam antaḥpurāṇi ca amā°. <sup>२०</sup>=ātmakunā° or ātmānaṁ ku°. <sup>२०-२१</sup>Chl "When the donation was made, when the monks had expressed their desires and when the desires (thus) expressed were approved, the king...". <sup>२१</sup>Chl "with four thousand precious vases filled with a perfumed fluid". <sup>२३-२४</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२४</sup>A cakṣyati°. B vakṣyati°.

राजाऽह् । स्थविर । कुत्रेदानीमुष्यत इति । स्थविर उवाच ।

उत्तरे<sup>१</sup> सरराजस्य<sup>२</sup> पर्वते गन्धमादने ।

वसामि नृपते<sup>३</sup> तत्र सार्धं सब्रह्मचारिभिः<sup>४</sup> ॥

राजाऽह् । कियन्तः स्थविरस्य परिवाराः । स्थविर उवाच ।

षष्ट्यर्हन्तः सहस्राणि परिवारो नृणां वर ।

वसामि<sup>५</sup> यैरहं सार्धं निष्पृहैर्जितकल्मषैः<sup>६</sup> ॥

‘अपि च महाराज किमनेन सन्देहेन कृतेन’ । परिविष्यतां भिक्षुसङ्घः । ‘भुक्तवतो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य प्रतिसंमोदनं करिष्यामि’ । राजाऽह् । एवमस्तु यथा स्थविर आज्ञापयति । किन्तु बुद्धस्मृतिप्रतिबोधितो<sup>७</sup>ऽहं बोधिस्नपनं तावत् करिष्यामि । समनन्तरं च मनापेन<sup>८</sup> चाहारेण भिक्षुसङ्घमुपस्थास्यामीति ।

अथ राजा सर्वमित्रम्<sup>९</sup> उद्घोषकमामन्त्रयति । अहम् आर्यसङ्घस्य शतसहस्रं दास्यामि । कुम्भसहस्रेण<sup>१०</sup> च बोधिं स्नापयिष्यामि । मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति ।

तत्कालं<sup>११</sup> च कुनालस्य नयनद्वयमविपन्नमासीत् । स<sup>१२</sup> राज्ञो दक्षिणे पार्श्वे स्थितः । तेनांगुलिद्वयमुत्क्षिप्तं न तु वाग् भाषिता । द्विगुणं त्वहं प्रदास्यामीत्याकारयति । पाणौ<sup>१३</sup> वर्धितमात्रे च कुनालेन सर्वजनकायेन हास्यं मुक्तं ।

ततो राजा हास्यं मुक्त्वा कथयति । अहो राघगुप्त केनैतद् वर्धितमिति ।

राघगुप्तः कथयति । ‘देव वहवः पुण्यार्थिनः प्राणिनो यः पुण्यार्थी तेन वर्धितमिति’<sup>१४</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२-३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>४-५</sup>Chl omits the whole line. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl *alam tāvan mahārāja kim etaiḥ praśnaiḥ*. <sup>८-९</sup>Chl “After repast, I shall complete my narrative for the sake of the king.” <sup>१०</sup>Chl “Having produced in me the thought of meditation on Buddha”. <sup>११</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१२</sup>Chl *wei-na*. <sup>१३</sup>Chl “with a thousand precious vases full of perfumed fluid”. <sup>१४-१५</sup>Chl *rājñāḥ putraḥ kunālo*. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. *pāṇinā*. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl “Among the multitude of human beings, numerous are they who are eager for (achieving) merit.”

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञः प्रीतिमनसो वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । तौ<sup>१</sup> श्रामणे-  
रावागम्य<sup>२</sup> भिक्षुसङ्घं<sup>३</sup> पटेनाच्छादयिष्यामि । ततस्तौ श्रामणेरौ  
राज्ञोऽभिप्रायमवगम्य<sup>४</sup> भूयोऽन्येऽस्माभिः स्वगुणा उद्भावयितव्या  
इति<sup>५</sup> [चिन्तितौ] । तयोरेकेन कटाहका उपस्थापिता द्वितीयेन रङ्गः  
समुदानीतः ।

राज्ञा पृष्टौ<sup>६</sup> श्रामणेरकौ । किमिदमारब्धं<sup>७</sup> । तयोरभिहितं ।  
देवोऽस्माकमागम्य भिक्षुसङ्घं पटेनाच्छादितुकामः<sup>८</sup> । तान् पटान्  
रञ्जयिष्यामः ।

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञो वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । मया<sup>९</sup> केवलं चिन्तितं न तु वाङ्म-  
निश्चारिता । परचित्तविदावेतौ महात्मानौ<sup>१०</sup> । ततः सर्वशरीरेण  
पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिर्वाच ।

मौर्यैः<sup>११</sup> सभृत्यः सजनः सपौरः

सुलब्धलाभार्थमुयण्टयज्ञः ।

यस्येदृशः साधुजन<sup>१२</sup>प्रसादः

काले तथोत्साहि करोति दानं<sup>१३</sup> ॥

यावद् राज्ञाऽभिहितं । युष्माकमागम्य<sup>१४</sup> त्रिचीवरेण भिक्षुसङ्घ-  
माच्छादयिष्यामीति । ततो राजाऽशोकः पञ्चवार्षिके<sup>१५</sup> पर्यवसिते  
<sup>१६</sup>सर्वभिक्षून् <sup>१७</sup>त्रिचीवरेणाच्छाद्य<sup>१८</sup> चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि <sup>१९</sup>सङ्घस्या-

1-2Chl omits. 3Chl adds here: *pratyekam ekena sūksmeṇa*. Ch2 reads: "I have made offering to the Saṅgha. Further, I am going to have good dresses and offer them to these two *śrāmaṇeras*."

4C *abhigamya*. 4-5Chl "reflected thus: 'Now we are going to do so that the king may redouble his faith and respect.'" 6MSS. *dr̥ṣṭau*.

7Chl *lit*. "What do you wish to do?" 8MSS. °*smākam avagamya*.

8-9Chl "Because of us the king wishes to offer a piece of fine cloth to every member of the Saṅgha." 10A (*kevalam*) *ciñcitam*, B *citam*.

10-11Chl "These *śrāmaṇeras* have divined my thought," the king rejoiced highly." 12-14Chl "My relations, friends and servants have obtained very great benefit. They have acquired a field of superior merit. Now with all my power I shall give alms."

13MSS. *jane*. 14MSS. *kṛtam ca dānam*, ABD omit *ca*. 15MSS. *tr̥ci*°.

16MSS. °*varṣi*°. 17-18Chl omits. 19Chl omits.

कृतमात्रे नृपतिना बोधिस्नपनमुत्तमं ।  
 बोधिवृक्षस्तदा जातो हरितपल्लवकोमलः ॥  
 दृष्ट्वा हरितपत्राढ्यं पल्लवाङ्कुरकोमलं ।  
 राजा हर्षपरं यातः<sup>३</sup> सामात्यगणनैगमः<sup>३</sup> ॥

अथ राजा बोधिस्नपनं कृत्वा भिक्षुसङ्घं<sup>४</sup> परिवेष्टुमारब्धः ।  
 तत्र यशो नाम्ना स्थविरः । तेनाभिहितं । महाराज महानयं परम-  
 दक्षिणोय आर्यसङ्घः संनिपतितः । तथा ते परिवेष्टव्यं यथा तेन  
 क्षतिर्न<sup>५</sup> स्यादिति<sup>५</sup> ।

ततो राजा स्वहस्तेन परिवेषयन् यावन् नवकान्तं<sup>६</sup> गतः । तत्र  
 द्वौ श्रामणेरौ संरञ्जनीयं<sup>७</sup> धर्मं<sup>७</sup> समादाय वर्ततः । एकेनापि सक्तवो<sup>८</sup>  
 दत्ता द्वितीयेनापि सक्तवः<sup>९</sup> । एकेन खाद्यका<sup>१०</sup> द्वितीयेनापि खाद्यका<sup>१०</sup>  
 एव । एकेन मोदका<sup>११</sup> द्वितीयेनापि मोदकाः<sup>११</sup> । तौ दृष्ट्वा राजा  
 हसितः । इमौ श्रामणेरौ वालक्रीडया क्रीडतः<sup>१२</sup> ।

यावद् राजा भिक्षुसङ्घं परिवेष्य वृद्धान्तमारूढः । स्थविरेण  
 चानुयुक्तः । <sup>१३</sup>मा देवेन कुत्रचिद् अप्रसाद उत्पादित इति<sup>१३</sup> ।

राजाऽह । नेति । अपि तु अस्ति द्वौ श्रामणेरौ वालक्रीडया  
 क्रीडतो<sup>१४</sup> यथा<sup>१५</sup> वालदारकाः पांश्वागारैः क्रीडन्त्येवं तौ श्रामणेरौ  
 सक्तुक्रीडया क्रीडतः<sup>१६</sup> खाद्यक्रीडया <sup>१७</sup>क्रीडतः<sup>१७</sup> ।

स्थविर उवाच । अलं<sup>१८</sup> महाराज<sup>१८</sup> । उभौ हि तौ उभयतो<sup>१९</sup>  
 भागविमुक्तौ<sup>१९</sup> अर्हन्तौ ।



श्रुत्वा च राज्ञः प्रीतिमनसो वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । तौ<sup>१</sup> श्रामणे-  
रावागम्य<sup>२</sup> भिक्षुसङ्घं<sup>३</sup> पटेनाच्छादयिष्यामि । ततस्तौ श्रामणेरौ  
राज्ञोऽभिप्रायमवगम्य<sup>४</sup> भूयोऽन्येऽस्माभिः स्वगुणा उद्भाविष्यन्त्या  
इति<sup>५</sup> [चिन्तितौ] । तयोरेकेन कटाहका उपस्थापिता द्वितीयेन रङ्गः  
समुदानीतः ।

राज्ञा पृष्टौ<sup>६</sup> श्रामणेरकौ । किमिदमारब्धं<sup>७</sup> । तयोरभिहितं ।  
देवो<sup>८</sup>ऽस्माकमागम्य भिक्षुसङ्घं पटेनाच्छादितुकामः<sup>९</sup> । तान् पटान्  
रञ्जयिष्यामः ।

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञो वुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । मया<sup>१०</sup> केवलं चिन्तितं न तु वाङ्म-  
निश्चारिता । परचित्तत्रिदावेतौ महात्मानौ<sup>११</sup> । ततः सर्वशरीरेण  
पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिर्वाच ।

मौर्यः<sup>१२</sup> सभृत्यः सजनः सपौरः

सुलब्धलाभार्थसुयष्टयज्ञः ।

यस्येदृशः साधुजन<sup>१३</sup>प्रसादः

काले तथोत्साहि करोति दानं<sup>१४</sup> ॥

यावद् राज्ञोऽभिहितं । युष्माकमागम्य<sup>१५</sup> त्रिचीवरेण भिक्षुसङ्घ-  
माच्छादयिष्यामीति । ततो राजाऽशोकः पञ्चवार्षिके<sup>१६</sup> पर्यवसिते  
<sup>१७</sup>सर्वभिक्षून्<sup>१८</sup> त्रिचीवरेणाच्छाद्य<sup>१९</sup> चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि<sup>२०</sup> सङ्घस्या-

1-2Chl omits. 3Chl adds here: *pratyekam ekena sūkṣmeṇa*. Ch2 reads: "I have made offering to the Saṅgha. Further, I am going to have good dresses and offer them to these two *śrāmaṇeras*."

4C *abhigamya*. 4-5Chl "reflected thus: 'Now we are going to do so that the king may redouble his faith and respect.'" 6MSS. *dr̥ṣṭau*.

7Chl *lit*. "What do you wish to do?" 8MSS. *°smākam avagamya*.

8-9Chl "Because of us the king wishes to offer a piece of fine cloth to every member of the Saṅgha." 10A (*kevalam*) *ciñcitam*, B *citam*.

10-11Chl "These *śrāmaṇeras* have divined my thought,' the king rejoiced highly." 12-14Chl "My relations, friends and servants have obtained very great benefit. They have acquired a field of superior merit. Now with all my power I shall give alms."

13MSS. *jane*. 14MSS. *kṛtam ca dānam*, ABD omit *ca*. 15MSS. *tr̥ci*°.

16MSS. *°var̥ṣi*°. 17-18Chl omits. 19Chl omits.

च्छादनानि<sup>१</sup> दत्त्वा<sup>१</sup> पृथिवीमन्तःपुरममात्यगणमात्मानं च कुनालं च<sup>२</sup> -  
निष्क्रीतवान्<sup>३</sup> । भूयसा भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा । चतुरशीति-  
धर्मराजिकासहस्रं<sup>४</sup> प्रतिष्ठापितम् । इति<sup>५</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Ch1 omits. MSS. °*nam dattvā*. <sup>२-३</sup>Ch1 “and others; having given all to the Saṅgha, he returned to his palace.” Ch2 “He gave four lakhs of *kārṣāpaṇas*. Besides, with innumerable *kārṣāpaṇas* and silver (riches) he bought back the vast earth (*mahāpṛthivī*) . . . . etc.” <sup>३-४</sup>Ch1 “When king Aśoka conceived faith and respect and when he had constructed 84000 *stūpas* completely and held the Pañcavārṣika, the inhabitants of all parts of Jambudvīpa had faith in Buddha and Dharma.” <sup>५</sup>MSS. °*srāṇi*.

## कुनालोपाख्यानं

‘यस्मिन्नेव दिवसे राज्ञोऽशोकेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं<sup>१</sup>  
प्रतिष्ठापितं तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे<sup>२</sup> राज्ञोऽशोकस्य पद्मावती नाम्ना देवी  
प्रसूता । पुत्रो जातः अभिरूपो<sup>३</sup> दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको नयनानि चास्य  
परशोभनानि<sup>४</sup> ।

यावद् राज्ञोऽशोकस्य<sup>५</sup> निवेदितं । देव दिष्टन्ना<sup>६</sup> वृद्धिर्देवस्य  
पुत्रो जातः<sup>७</sup> । श्रुत्वा राजा आत्तमनाः<sup>८</sup> कथयति ।

प्रीतिः<sup>९</sup> परा मे विपुला ह्यवाप्ता<sup>१०</sup> ‘मौर्यस्य वंशस्य परा विभूतिः ।  
धर्मेण राज्यं मम कुर्वतो हि जातः सुतो धर्मविवर्धनोऽस्तु<sup>११</sup> ॥  
तस्य धर्मविवर्धन इति नाम कृतं ।

यावत् कुमारो राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामितः । अथ राजा कुमारं  
निरीक्ष्य प्रीतमनाः<sup>१२</sup> कथयति<sup>१३</sup> ।

सुतस्य मे नेत्रवरा<sup>१४</sup> सुपुण्या सुजातनीलोत्पलसंनिकाशा<sup>१५</sup> ।  
अलङ्कृतं शोभति यस्य वक्त्रं सम्पूर्णचन्द्रप्रतिमं विभाति<sup>१६</sup> ॥

यावद् राजाऽमात्यान् उवाच । दृष्टानि भवद्भिः<sup>१७</sup> कस्येदृशानि  
नयनानि । अमात्या ऊचुः । देव मनुष्यभूतस्य न दृष्टानि<sup>१८</sup> । अपि तु  
देव, अस्ति<sup>१९</sup> हिमवति पर्वतराजे<sup>२०</sup> कुनालो नाम पक्षी प्रतिवसति ।  
तस्य सदृशानि<sup>२१</sup> नयनानि । आह<sup>२२</sup> च ।

1-3Ch1 omits, Ch2 reads. 2MSS. °hasrām. 4-5Ch1 reads: *dharmavivardhano nāma*. 6Ch1 reads: *ekena amātyena*. 7MSS. *dr̥ṣṭvā vṛddhi de°*. 8Ch1 reads this sentence: “O king, you should rejoice because a son is born to you. The features of his face are uniform and his eyes are incomparable.” 9ACD °manā. B ātmanā. 10-12Ch1 reads: “The lineage of the kings who have preceded me is extremely glorious. And now I have been able to give to the Law a prosperity still greater. Lo! A son is born to me.” 11MSS. *saurya°*. 13-14Ch1 *lit*. “felt a tender affection and recited this *gāthā* :” 15Ch1 *netrātulā*. 16Ch1 *navotpalasam°*. 17Ch1 reads this line as: “His face is gracious, and just like the full-moon; those who look at it become delighted.” 18Ch1 adds: *manusyānām* or *manusyabhūtasya*. 19Ch1 adds: *na ca śrutāni*. 20Ch1 *śrutamātram*. 21Ch1 *parvate*. 22Ch1 *st°*. 23Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads.

हिमेन्द्रराजे<sup>१</sup> गिरिशैलशृङ्गे<sup>२</sup> प्रबालपुष्पप्रसवे जलाढचे ।  
कुनालनाम्नेति निवासि<sup>३</sup> पक्षी नेत्राणि तेनास्य समान्यमूनि<sup>४</sup> ॥  
ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । कुनालः पक्षी आनीयतामिति ।

तस्योर्ध्वतो योजनं यक्षाः शृण्वन्ति । अधो योजनं नागाः ।  
ततो यक्षैस्तत्क्षणेन कुनालः पक्षी आनीतः । अथ राजा<sup>५</sup> कुनालस्य  
नेत्राणि सुचिरं निरीक्ष्य न किञ्चिद् विशेषं पश्यति । ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं ।  
कुमारस्य कुनालसदृशानि नयनानि<sup>६</sup> । भवतु कुमारस्य कुनाल इति  
नाम । वक्ष्यति<sup>७</sup> हि ।

नेत्रानुरागेण स पार्थिवेन्द्रः सुतं<sup>८</sup> कुनालेति तदा वभाषे ।

ततोऽस्य नाम प्रथितं पृथिव्यां तस्यार्यैस्तत्त्वस्य नृपात्मजस्य<sup>९</sup> ॥

विस्तरेण यावत् कुमारो महान् संवृत्तः । तस्य काञ्चनमाला  
नाम<sup>१०</sup> दारिका पत्न्यर्थे आनीता ।

यावद् राजाऽशोकः कुनालेन सह 'कुक्कुटारामं गतः । तत्र  
यशो<sup>११</sup> नाम्ना सङ्घस्थविरः अर्हन्<sup>१२</sup> षडभिज्ञः<sup>१३</sup> । स पश्यति कुनालस्य  
न चिरान् नयनविनाशो भविष्यति ।

तेन राजाऽभिहितः । किमर्थं कुनालः स्वकर्मणि<sup>१४</sup> न नियुज्यते ।  
ततो<sup>१५</sup> राज्ञाऽभिहितः । कुनाल सङ्घस्थविरो यदाज्ञापयति तत् परिपाल-  
यितव्यं<sup>१६</sup> । ततः कुनालः स्थविरस्य<sup>१७</sup> पादयोर्निपत्य<sup>१८</sup> कथयति ।  
स्थविर 'किमाज्ञापयसि<sup>१९</sup> । स्थविर उवाच<sup>२०</sup> । चक्षुः कुनाल अनित्यमिति  
कुरु । आह<sup>२१</sup> ।

कुमार<sup>१</sup> चक्षुः सततं परीक्ष्यं चलात्मकं दुःखसहस्रयुक्तं ।

यत्रानुरक्ता बहवः पृथग्जनाः<sup>२</sup> कुर्वन्ति कर्मण्यहितावहानि<sup>३</sup> ॥

स च तथाऽभ्यासं करोति मनसिकारप्रयुक्तः । एकाभिरामः  
प्रशमारामश्च संवृत्तः<sup>४</sup> । स राजकुले विविकते स्थानेऽवस्थितस्<sup>५</sup> चक्षुरा-  
दीन्यायतनानि अनित्यादिभिर् आकारैः परीक्षते<sup>६</sup> । .

तिष्यरक्षिता च नाम्नाऽशोकस्याग्रमहिषी तं प्रदेशमभिगता ।  
सा<sup>७</sup> तं कुनालमेकाकिनं दृष्ट्वा नयनानुरागेण गात्रेषु परिष्वज्य  
कथयति ।

दृष्ट्वा तवेदं नयनाभिरामं श्रीमद् वपुर्नेत्रयुगं च कान्तं ।

दंदह्यते मे हृदयं समन्ताद् दावाग्निना प्रज्वलते च कक्षः<sup>८</sup> ॥

श्रुत्वा कुनाल उभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां कणौ<sup>९</sup> पिधाय कथयति<sup>१०</sup> ।

वाक्यं न युक्तं तव वक्तुमेतत्

सूनोः पुरस्ताज् जननी ममासि ।

अधर्ममार्गं परिवर्जयस्व

अपायमार्गस्य स एव<sup>११</sup> हेतुः ॥

ततस्तिष्यरक्षिता तत्कालमलभमाना<sup>१२</sup> क्रुद्धा कथयति ।

“अभिकामामभिगतां यत्त्वं नेच्छसि मामिह<sup>१३</sup> ।

न चिरादेव दुर्बुद्धे<sup>१४</sup> सर्वथा<sup>१५</sup> न भविष्यसि ॥

advice: “The eye is perishable. One must not set one’s hopes on it. Train yourself with zeal to the practice of meditation and sapience.”

<sup>१</sup>MSS. *caṅṣuḥ ku*°. <sup>२</sup>MSS. °*nās ca*. <sup>१-३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>३-४</sup>Chl “There-upon he received the doctrine.” <sup>५</sup>Chl adds: *dhyāyati*. <sup>६</sup>MSS. °*kṣyate*. <sup>५-६</sup>Chl *caṅṣur duḥkham śūnyam anityam ātmā ca asatyam iti parikṣate*. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *sa*. <sup>८-९</sup>Chl “Just as a violent fire flares up and consumes the forest of a mountain, so the passion tortures me. We must now give ourselves up to the pleasures of love.” <sup>१०</sup>MSS. °*te va kaṅṣam*. <sup>१०</sup>Chl “recited the following *gāthā* :” <sup>१०-११</sup>Chl “I close my ears, for I do not wish to hear these intemperate evil speeches. You being a mother, how could you have a feeling of lust towards your son! The criminal desire, if not suppressed, is a door to the evil ways.” <sup>११</sup>MSS. *hi eṣa*°. <sup>१२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl “as you refuse”. <sup>१५</sup>Chl omits. MSS. °*ddha*. <sup>१६</sup>Chl “certainly”.

कुनाल उवाच<sup>१</sup> ।

मम भवतु मरणं मात<sup>२</sup> स्थितस्य धर्मो विशुद्धभावस्य<sup>३</sup> ।

न तु जीवितेन कार्यं सज्जनजनधिककृतेन<sup>४</sup> मम ॥

‘स्वर्गस्य धर्मलोपो यतो भवति जीवितेन किं तेन ।

मम मरणहेतुना वै बुधपरिभूतेन धिक्कृतेन<sup>५</sup> ॥

यावत् तिप्यरक्षिता कुनालस्य छिद्रान्वेषिणी अवस्थिता ।

राज्ञोऽशोकस्योत्तरापथे<sup>६</sup> तक्षशिला नगरं विरुद्धं । श्रुत्वा च राजा<sup>७</sup> स्वयमेवाभिप्रस्थितः<sup>८</sup> । ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितः । देव<sup>९</sup> कुमारः<sup>१०</sup> प्रेष्यतां ।

अथ राजा कुनालमाहूय<sup>११</sup> कथयति । वत्स कुनाल गमिष्यसि<sup>१२</sup> तक्षशिलानगरं<sup>१३</sup> संनामयितुं<sup>१४</sup> ।

कुनाल उवाच । परं देव गमिष्यामि<sup>१५</sup> ।

ततो नृपस्तस्य निशाम्य भावं<sup>१६</sup> पुत्राभिधानस्य मनोरथस्य ।

स्नेहाच्च योग्यं मनसा च बुद्ध्वा आज्ञापयामास विहारयात्रां<sup>१७</sup> ॥

अथ राजाऽशोको नगरशोभां<sup>१८</sup> मार्गशोभां च कृत्वा जीर्णानुर-  
कृपणांश्च<sup>१९</sup> मार्गादपनीय एकरथे<sup>२०</sup>ऽभिरुह्य कुमारेण सह पाटलिपुत्रान्  
निर्गतः । अनुव्रजित्वा निवर्तमानः कुनालं कण्ठे परिष्वज्य नयनं<sup>२१</sup>  
निरीक्षमाणः प्ररुदन्नवाच<sup>२२</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl reads: “Kunāla replied by reciting the following *gāthā*!”

<sup>२</sup>MSS. *mā tu*. <sup>३</sup>Chl *°bhāve*. <sup>४</sup>Chl *kāmavaśībhūtena*. <sup>५</sup>ABD add: *mama*. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl “He who destroys the Way of the human beings and gods is blamed by the sages. (*svargasya martasya ca dharmalopo yato bhavati jivitena kim budhadhikkṛtena*)” <sup>७</sup>Chl adds: *gandhārarāṅge*. <sup>८</sup>Chl adds: *tasya śāsanāya*. <sup>९</sup>Chl *°tum icchati*.

<sup>१०-११</sup>Chl *deva svayam na gantavyam, kumāreṣu kaścit*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl *kumārān kunālān*. <sup>१३</sup>Chl *śakṣyasi*. <sup>१४</sup>Chl *°rājyam*. <sup>१५</sup>Chl *lit*. “to chastise”.

<sup>१६</sup>Chl *śakṣyāmi* (“I can chastise them”). <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl “rejoiced and wished that he should go.” <sup>१८</sup>MSS. *vihāya jā°*. <sup>१९</sup>Chl “in the territories of the kingdom”.

<sup>२०</sup>Chl adds: *śavānś ca bhikṣukānś ca*. <sup>२१</sup>Chl describes that the chariot was “decorated with a big fan of feathers.” <sup>२२</sup>MSS. *kunālakaṅṭhe ... nirīkṣyamānaḥ*. <sup>२२-२३</sup>Chl *prārodit. sutam ca nirīkṣamāṇa uvāca*.

धन्यानि तस्य<sup>१</sup> चक्षुषि चक्षुष्मन्तश्च ते जनाः ।

सततं ये कुमारस्य द्रक्ष्यन्ति मुखपङ्कजं<sup>२</sup> ॥

यावन् नैमित्तिको ब्राह्मणः पश्यति<sup>३</sup> कुमारस्य न चिरान् नयन-  
विनाशो भविष्यति । स च राजाऽशोकस्तस्य नयनेष्वत्यर्थमनुषक्तः ।  
दृष्ट्वा च कथयति<sup>४</sup> ।

नृपात्मजस्य<sup>५</sup> नयने विशुद्धे महीपतिश्चाप्यनुरक्तमस्य ।

श्रिया विवृद्धे हि सुखानुकूले पश्यामि नेत्रेऽद्य विनश्यमाने<sup>६</sup> ॥

इदं पुरं स्वर्गं<sup>७</sup> इव<sup>८</sup> प्रहृष्टं कुमारसंदर्शनजातहर्षं<sup>९</sup> ।

पुरं विपन्ने नयने तु तस्य भविष्यते शोकपरीतचेतः<sup>१०</sup> ॥

अनुपूर्वेण तक्षशिलामनुप्राप्तः<sup>११</sup> । श्रुत्वा च तक्षशिलापौरा अर्ध-  
त्रिकाणि<sup>१२</sup> योजनानि<sup>१३</sup> मार्गशोभां<sup>१४</sup> नगरशोभां च कृत्वा पूर्णकुम्भैः<sup>१५</sup>  
प्रत्युद्गताः । वक्ष्यति<sup>१६</sup> च ।

श्रुत्वा तक्षशिलापौरो<sup>१७</sup> रत्नपूर्णघटादिकान्<sup>१८</sup> ।

मृह्य प्रत्युज्जगामाशु बहुमान्यं<sup>१९</sup> नृपात्मजं ।

प्रत्युद्गम्य कृताञ्जलिखाच । न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न  
राज्ञोऽशोकस्य । अपि तु दुष्टात्मानोऽमात्या आगत्यास्माकमपमानं  
कुर्वन्ति<sup>२०</sup> । यावत्<sup>२१</sup> कुनालो महता सम्मानेन<sup>२२</sup> तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः ।

<sup>१</sup>teṣu ? tāni ? <sup>१-२</sup>Chl dhanyās te janā ye te cakṣuṣi drakṣyanti (lit. draṣṭuṁ śakṣyanti). <sup>२-३</sup>Chl "Now there was a Brāhmaṇa who drew a horoscope and said..." <sup>३</sup>MSS. omit it. <sup>४</sup>MSS. °manuśakto drṣṭvā°. <sup>४-६</sup>Chl reads: "The king likes the eyes of his son, but they will certainly be destroyed before long." <sup>५</sup>MSS. °pātmakasya. <sup>७</sup>Chl omits it. MSS. °rgam iva. <sup>८</sup>Chl kumāranayanadarśana°. <sup>९</sup>MSS. bhaviṣyati . . . cetāḥ. Chl reads this śloka lit. thus: "At present there is none who does not rejoice in seeing the eyes of this young man. Later on, if they are destroyed, that would be a universal grief." <sup>१०</sup>MSS. °prāpte. <sup>११</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१२</sup>Chl "carrying vessels of perfumes (gandhaghāṭaiḥ) as a sign of submission". <sup>१३</sup>Chl adds: "They came to meet him to a distance of half a yojana." <sup>१४</sup>MSS. °rā. <sup>१५</sup>MSS. °todikāṁ. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. °mānyā. The śloka is not found in Ch. <sup>१७</sup>Chl "We are rebellious only to the wicked ministers who are close to the king." <sup>१८</sup>Chl prabhūtaprābhṛtārpitāḥ. <sup>१९</sup>MSS. sanmā°.

राजश्चाशोकस्य महान् व्याधिरुत्पन्नः । तस्य मुखाद्बुच्चारो<sup>१</sup>  
निर्गन्तुमारब्धः । सर्वरोमकूपेभ्यश्चाशुचि<sup>२</sup> प्रवरति न च शक्यते  
चिकित्सितुं । ततो राजाऽभिहितं<sup>३</sup> । कुनालमानयत राज्ये प्रतिष्ठाप-  
यिष्यामीति<sup>४</sup> । किं ममेदृगेन जीवितेन प्रयोजनं ।

श्रुत्वा च निप्यरक्षिता<sup>५</sup> चिन्तयति । यदि कुनालं राज्ये प्रतिष्ठा-  
पयिष्यति नास्मि मम जीवितं । 'तयाऽभिहितं । अहं त्वा<sup>६</sup> स्वस्यं  
करिष्यामि किं तु वैद्यानां प्रवेगः प्रतिपिब्यतां । यावद् राजा  
वैद्यानां प्रवेगः प्रतिपिब्यः । ततस्तिप्यरक्षितया वैद्यानामभिहितं । यदि  
कश्चिदीदृगेन व्याधिना स्पृष्टः स्त्री वा पुरुषो वाजाच्छति मम<sup>७</sup>  
दर्शयितव्यः<sup>८</sup> ।

अन्यतमञ्चाभीरस्तादृगेनैव व्याधिना स्पृष्टः । तस्य पत्न्या  
वैद्याय "व्याधिनिवेदितः । वैद्येनाभिहितं । "स एवागच्छत्वातुरो व्याधिं  
दृष्ट्वा भैषज्यमुपदेक्ष्यामि" । यावदाभीरो<sup>९</sup> वैद्यसकाशमभिगतः<sup>१०</sup> । वैद्येन  
च निप्यरक्षितायाः ममीपमुपनीतः । ततस्तिप्यरक्षितया प्रतिगुप्ते<sup>११</sup>  
प्रदेशे<sup>१२</sup> जीविताद् व्यपरोपितः । जीविताद् व्यपरोप्य कुक्षिं पाटयित्वा  
पश्यति च तस्य पक्वाण्यमथानं<sup>१३</sup> । अन्त्रायां<sup>१४</sup> कृमिर्महान् प्रादुर्भूतः ।  
न यद्दूर्ध्वं गच्छति तेनाशुचि<sup>१५</sup> प्रवरति । अयावो गच्छत्यधः प्रवरति<sup>१६</sup> ।  
यावन् तत्र मग्निं पश्यित्वा दन्तो<sup>१७</sup> न च [स] म्रियते । एवं  
पिप्पली<sup>१८</sup> शृङ्गवेरं च । विस्मरेण यावत् पलाण्डुं दत्तः । स्पृष्टश्च



मृत उच्चारमार्गेण<sup>१</sup> निर्गतः । एतच्च प्रकरणं तथा राज्ञे निवेदितं ।  
देव पलाण्डुं परिभुंक्ष्व स्वास्थ्यं भविष्यति<sup>२</sup> । राजाऽह् । देवि<sup>३</sup>, अहं  
क्षत्रियः कथं पलाण्डुं परिभक्षयामि । देव्युवाच<sup>४</sup> । देव, परिभोक्तव्यं  
जीवितस्यार्थे भैषज्यमेतत्<sup>५</sup> ।

राज्ञा परिभुक्तं । स च कृमिमृत उच्चारमार्गेण निर्गतः ।  
स्वस्थीभूतश्च राजा । तेन<sup>६</sup> परितुष्टेन तिष्यरक्षिता वरेण प्रवारिता<sup>७</sup> ।  
किं ते वरं प्रयच्छामि । तथाऽभिहितं । सप्ताहं मम देवो राज्यं प्रयच्छतु ।  
राजाऽह् । अहं को भविष्यामि । देव्युवाच । सप्ताहस्यात्ययाद् देव  
एव राजा भविष्यति<sup>८</sup> ।

यावद् राज्ञा तिष्यरक्षितायाः सप्ताहं राज्यं दत्तं । तस्या बुद्धि-  
रूपन्ना<sup>९</sup> । इदानीं मयास्य कुनालस्य वैरं निर्यातयितव्यं । तथा<sup>१०</sup> कपट-  
लेखो लिखितस्तक्षशिलकानां पौराणां । कुनालस्य<sup>११</sup> नयनं विनाश-  
यितव्यमिति । आह च<sup>१२</sup> ।

राजा ह्यशोको बलवान् प्रचण्ड आज्ञापयत्तक्षशिलाजनं हि ।

उद्धार्यतां लोचनमस्य शत्रोर्मौर्यस्य वंशस्य कलङ्क एषः<sup>१३</sup> ॥

राज्ञोऽशोकस्य यत्र कार्यमाशु परिप्राप्यं भवति [स] दन्तमुद्रया  
मुद्रयति । यावत् तिष्यरक्षिता शयितस्य राज्ञस्तं लेखं दन्तमुद्रया  
मुद्रयिष्यामीति राज्ञः सकाशमभिगता<sup>१४</sup> । राजा च भीतः प्रतिबुद्धः ।

“She used all kinds of pungent things and gave them to the worm but it was not killed.”

<sup>1</sup>Chl “by the inferior ways”. <sup>2-3</sup>Chl “For that reason, the queen advised the king to eat onion.” <sup>4</sup>AB *devim*. <sup>5-6</sup>Chl “Tiṣya<sup>o</sup> said to the king for the second time, ‘You must eat it, in order to be cured.’” <sup>7-8</sup>Chl reads: “He said to Tiṣya<sup>o</sup>...” <sup>9-10</sup>Chl omits. <sup>11</sup>Chl reads: “Tiṣya<sup>o</sup> having obtained his consent said to herself...” <sup>12</sup>Chl omits *kapāṭa*. It reads: *ittham*. MSS. *niryālitavyam. tayā*. <sup>13-14</sup>Chl omits. <sup>15</sup>Chl reads this *śloka* as: “Pluck out the eyes of Kunāla, for he has committed a great crime. Promptly pluck out his eyes. King Aśoka is very strict. Don’t delay; that will be disobeying the king.” <sup>15-17</sup>Chl “In order to have successful results, it was necessary to seal the writing with the teeth of the king, in the time of sealing it up. Tiṣya<sup>o</sup> waited till the king was asleep and wished to seal the edict.” Then it reads: *rājā ca sahasā bhītaḥ*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>16</sup>D *bhadra*<sup>o</sup>.

दंवी कथयति । किमिदमिति<sup>१</sup> । राजा कथयति । देवि स्वप्नं मेऽशोभनं  
दृष्टं । पश्यामि ह्यी गृध्रीं<sup>२</sup> कुनालस्य नयनमुत्पाटयितुमिच्छतः ।  
देवी कथयति । स्वास्थ्यं कुमारस्येति<sup>३</sup> । एवं द्विरपि राजा भीतः<sup>४</sup>  
प्रतिबुद्धः कथयति । देवि स्वप्नो मे न शोभनो दृष्ट इति ।  
तिप्यरक्षिता कथयति । कीदृशः स्वप्न इति । राजाऽह । पश्यामि  
कुनालं दीर्घकेशनखश्मश्रुं<sup>५</sup> पौरं प्रविष्टं<sup>६</sup> । देव्याह । स्वास्थ्यं कुमार-  
स्येति<sup>७</sup> ।

यावत्<sup>८</sup> तिप्यरक्षितया राज्ञः शयितस्य सा लेखो दन्तमुद्रया  
मुद्रयित्वा तक्षशिलां प्रेषितः । यावद् राज्ञा शयितेन स्वप्ने दृष्टं दन्ता  
विशीर्णाः<sup>९</sup> ।

ततो राजा तस्या एव रात्रेरत्यये नैमित्तिकान् आहूय कथयति ।  
कीदृश एषां स्वप्नानां विपाक इति । नैमित्तिकाः कथयन्ति । देव य  
ईदृशस्वप्नानि पश्यति "तस्य पुत्रस्य चक्षुर्भेदो भवति"<sup>१०</sup> । आह च ।

दन्ता यस्य विशीर्यन्ते स्वप्नान्ते प्रपतन्ति च ।

चक्षुर्भेदं च पुत्रस्य पुत्रनाशं सा पश्यति<sup>११</sup> ॥

श्रुत्वा च राजाऽशोकस् "त्वरितमुत्थायासनात्"<sup>१२</sup> कृताञ्जलि-  
श्चतुर्दिशं देवतां<sup>१३</sup> याचयितुमारब्धः । आह च<sup>१४</sup> ।

या देवता शास्त्रुरभिप्रसन्ना धर्मं च सङ्घे च गणप्रधाने ।

ये<sup>१५</sup> चापि लोके ऋषयो वरिष्ठा<sup>१६</sup> रक्षन्तु तेऽस्मत्तनयं कुनालं ॥

<sup>१</sup>Chl *katham sahasā pratibuddho'si*. <sup>२</sup>Chl adds: *sutaya me*.  
<sup>३-४</sup>Chl "uttering these words he was asleep." <sup>५</sup>MSS. *svāstham*  
*kumā*. <sup>६</sup>Chl *saahasā*. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *śū*. <sup>८</sup>MSS. *śaḥ*. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl *dīrgha-*  
*śmaśruṇi bhūmāv āsīnām*. <sup>११</sup>Chl "Sleep peacefully; who will  
do harm to the prince?" MSS. *svāstham kumā*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl  
"The king was asleep. The queen sealed the edict with  
the teeth of the king (See Notes). She ordered a messenger to  
carry the edict which prescribed to the people of Takṣaśilā to  
pluck out the eyes of Kumāla. The king had a dream again. He  
dreamt that his teeth fell off." <sup>१४</sup>MSS. *vistīrṇāḥ*. <sup>१५-१६</sup>MSS. omit.  
We have adopted it from the Chl which reads: "The diviners  
made this prediction: 'Such a dream certainly presages that the  
son of the king will lose his eyes.'" <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl  
omits. <sup>२१-२२</sup>Chl *yā devatā buddhadharmāni rakṣanti tāḥ pūjyati*.  
<sup>२३-२४</sup>Chl omits.

स च लेखोऽनुपूर्वेण तक्षशिलामुपनीतः । अथ तक्षशिलाः पौर-  
जानपदा लेखदर्शनात् कुनालस्य गुणविस्तरतुष्टा नोत्सहन्ते तदप्रियं  
निवेदितुं । चिरं विचारयित्वा चण्डो राजा दुःशीलः स्वपुत्रस्य न  
मर्षयति प्रागेवास्माकं [किं] मर्षयति । आह च<sup>१</sup> ।

मुनिवृत्तस्य शान्तस्य<sup>२</sup> सर्वभूतहितैषिणः ।

यस्य द्वेषः कुमारस्य कस्य नास्य भविष्यति<sup>३</sup> ॥

तैर्यावत् कुनालस्य निवेदितं । लेखश्चोपनीतः । ततः कुनालो  
वाचयित्वा कथयति । विश्रब्धं यथात्मप्रयोजनं क्रियतामिति<sup>४</sup> । यावच्  
चण्डाला उपनीताः कुनालस्य नयनम् उत्पाटयतेति<sup>५</sup> । ते च कृताञ्जलि-  
पुटा ऊचुः । नोत्सहयामः<sup>६</sup> । कुतः ।

यो हि चन्द्रमसः कान्तिं मोहादभ्युद्धरेन् नरः ।

स चन्द्रसदृशाद् वक्त्रात् तव नेत्रे समुद्धरेत् ॥

ततः कुमारेण मकुटं दत्तम् । अनया दक्षिणयोत्पाटयत<sup>७</sup>  
इति<sup>८</sup> । तस्य तु कर्मणाऽवश्यं विपक्तव्यं<sup>९</sup> । पुरुषो हि विकृत-

<sup>1-2</sup>Chl reads: "The inhabitants of the town loved and respected the Dharma and the Saṅgha. So great was their humaneness and their generosity that there was none to show the royal order (to Kunāla). They resolved thus: 'If the king has no mercy for his son, how can he love and spare us, we who are his subjects?'" <sup>2-3</sup>Chl "He wishes to succour all. He is profoundly moderate and reconciling. He has neither arrogance nor outrage." (Chl reads this as the second *pāda* of the *śloka*.) <sup>4-5</sup>Chl "If having such a son the king wants to destroy him, then what are we to him?" <sup>5</sup>MSS. *kasyānyasya*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>6</sup>Chl reads these four sentences as: "It is but after hiding the edict for a long time that they showed it to Kunāla. He having received it gave credit to what it contained and said: 'Let it be done as you wish to do; pluck out my eyes.' But none was found to pluck them out." <sup>7</sup>MSS. *yatheti*. <sup>8</sup>BC *notsāha*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>7-9</sup>Chl "The Caṇḍālas refused. They said: 'We shall better destroy our own eyes. How can we destroy eyes like these.' Thereupon, a precious crown which was worth a hundred thousand ounces of gold was taken up and given to the Caṇḍālas, on condition that they will pluck out the eyes. But the Caṇḍālas refused as before." Ch2, following the text, says that Kunāla gave the crown. <sup>10</sup>MSS. *karmaṇo* . . . *ṭṭavyaṃ*.

एष<sup>१</sup> हि निर्मल<sup>२</sup>ज्योत्स्नो<sup>३</sup> गगनात् पतते शशी ।

पुण्डरीकवनाच्चापि<sup>४</sup> श्रीमानुत्पाटयते<sup>५</sup>ऽम्बुजः ॥

‘तेषु प्राणिशतसहस्रेषु रुदत्सु कुनालस्यैव नयनमुत्पाटय हस्ते दत्तं । ततः कुनालस्तन्नयनं गृह्योवाच ।

रूपाणि कस्मान्न निरीक्षसे त्वं यथा पुरा प्राकृतमांसपिण्ड<sup>६</sup> ।

ते वञ्चितास्ते च विगर्हणीया आत्मेति ये त्वामबुधाः श्रयन्ते<sup>७</sup> ॥

सामग्र्यकं बुर्बुदसन्निकाशं सुदुर्लभं<sup>८</sup> निर्विषयाऽस्वतन्त्रं<sup>९</sup> ।

एवं प्रवीक्षन्ति<sup>१०</sup> सदाऽप्रमत्ता ये<sup>११</sup> त्वां न ते दुःखमनुप्रयान्ति<sup>१२</sup> ॥

एवं<sup>१३</sup> चिन्तयता तेन<sup>१४</sup> सर्वभावेष्वनित्यतां ।

स्रोतापत्तिफलं<sup>१५</sup> प्राप्तं<sup>१६</sup> जनकायस्य पश्यतः<sup>१७</sup> ॥

ततः कुनालो<sup>१८</sup> दृष्टसत्यस्तं पुरुषमुवाच । इदानीं द्वितीयं विश्रब्धं नयनमुत्पाटयतां । यावत्तेन पुरुषेण कुनालस्य द्वितीयं नयनमुत्पाटय हस्ते दत्तं<sup>१९</sup> । अथ कुनालो मांसचक्षुषि उद्धृते<sup>२०</sup> प्रज्ञाचक्षुषि च विशुद्धे कथयति ।

उद्धृतं मांसचक्षुर्मे यद्यप्येतत् सुदुर्लभं<sup>२१</sup> ।

प्रज्ञाचक्षुर्विशुद्धं मे प्रतिलब्धम् अनिन्दितं<sup>२२</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>MSS. °ṣā. Chl *sahāsā*. <sup>२</sup>MSS. °lā. <sup>३</sup>MSS. °tsnā. <sup>२-३</sup>Chl reads *lit.* “pure and luminous”. <sup>४</sup>Chl omits this. *pāda*. <sup>५</sup>Chl *lit.* *vinaśyati*. MSS. *śrīmann utpātyate’mbujam*. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl “All the myriads and *koṭis* of people wept; and they could not overcome their grief. Thereupon, Kunāla contemplated on the eye which was in his hand and made this reflection: *dhig idaṃ nayanam, rūpaṃ katham nekṣasi? ramyam āsiḥ purā ’dhunā prakṛtamānsapiṇḍah.*” <sup>८</sup>Chl reads this line: *abudhā mohitās tvayā*. MSS. *tām abudhāḥ śrayante. sāmagrajam*. Chl adds: “It was said that for the cause of that which is within you (eye) I excited an unruly passion. In fact, you are but the delusive product of the multitude of causes. To speak the truth, the eye exists by no means. You resemble a bubble on the surface of the water (*budbudasannikāśam*).” <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१०</sup>MSS. *nirviṣam a°*. <sup>११</sup>MSS. °*viśya°*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl “They are liberated from life and death.” <sup>१४</sup>MSS. *anuvici°*. <sup>१५</sup>Chl omits this *pāda*. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. *śrotāphalam*. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl “He could see the (four-fold noble) Truth.” <sup>१९</sup>Chl *vikṛta-rūpaṃ*. <sup>२०</sup>Chl adds: “Kunāla contemplated on that eye again and attained the state of *sakṛdāgāmin*.” <sup>२१</sup>Chl *lit.* *dharmacakṣus* (‘eye of the Law’). <sup>२२</sup>Chl omits this *pāda*. <sup>२३</sup>Chl omits it.

परित्यक्तो<sup>१</sup> नृपतिना यद्यहं पुत्रसंज्ञया<sup>२</sup> ।  
 धर्मराजस्य पुत्रत्वमुपेतोऽस्मि महात्मनः ॥  
 ऐश्वर्याद् यद्यहं भ्रष्टः शोकदुःखनिबन्धनाद्<sup>३</sup> ।  
 धर्मैश्वर्यमवाप्तं मे दुःखशोकविनाशनं ॥

यावत् कुनालेन श्रुतं नायं तातस्याशोकस्य आदेशः<sup>४</sup> । अपि  
 तु तिष्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोग<sup>५</sup> इति । श्रुत्वा च कुनालः कथयति ।  
 चिरं सुखं तिष्ठन्तु तिष्यनाम्नी आयुर्वलं<sup>६</sup> पालयतां च देवी ।  
 स्वंप्रेषितोयं हि यया प्रयोगो यस्यानुभावेन कृतः स्वकार्यः<sup>७</sup> ॥  
 ततः काञ्चनमालया श्रुतं कुनालस्य नयनानि उत्पाटिता-  
 नीति । श्रुत्वा च भर्तृतया<sup>८</sup> कुनालसमीपमुपसंक्रम्य 'पर्षदमवगाह्य'<sup>९</sup>  
 कुनालमुद्धृतनयनं रुधिरावसिक्तगात्रं दृष्ट्वा<sup>१०</sup> मूर्च्छिता भूमौ पतिता ।  
 यावज् जलसेकं कृत्वा उत्थापिता ।

ततः कथंचित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य सस्वरं प्ररुदती उवाच ।  
 'नेत्राणि कान्तानि मनोहराणि ये मां निरीक्ष्या<sup>११</sup>जनयन्ति तुष्टिं ।  
 ते मे<sup>१२</sup> विपन्ना ह्यनिरीक्षणीया<sup>१३</sup>स्त्यजन्ति मे प्राणसमाः शरीरं<sup>१४</sup> ॥  
 ततः कुनालो 'भार्यामिनुनयन्नुवाच । अलं रुदितेन । नार्हसि  
 शोकमाश्रयितुं<sup>१५</sup> । स्वयंकृतानामिह कर्मणां फलमुपस्थितं । आह<sup>१६</sup> च ।  
 कर्मात्मकं लोकमिदं विदित्वा दुःखात्मकं चापि जनं हि मत्वा<sup>१७</sup> ।  
 मत्वा च लोकं<sup>१८</sup> प्रियविप्रयोगं कर्तुं<sup>१९</sup> प्रिये नार्हसि वाष्पमोक्षं<sup>२०</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>MSS. °tyakto'hañ. <sup>१-२</sup>Chl reads this: "forsaken by him who was my father in the series of transmigration". <sup>३</sup>Chl omits this *pāda*. <sup>४</sup>MSS. *karmā*. <sup>५</sup>Chl "forgery". <sup>६</sup>MSS. *caiva sā*. Chl adds: *nirudvegām*. <sup>७</sup>Chl omits *balam*. MSS. *pālayate*. <sup>८-९</sup>Chl "Because she has been the instrument which has destroyed the causes (of transmigration) for my sake and has made me obtain the benefit of the Law." <sup>१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>११</sup>Chl adds: "She uttered a cry of anguish and was at the height of despair." <sup>१२</sup>MSS. *prarudanti urāca*. <sup>१३-१६</sup>Chl "Those eyes which were guiltless and marvellously beautiful are destroyed and reduced to this state!" <sup>१७</sup>MSS. °riksam jana°. <sup>१४</sup>ABD *tam me. G ta me*. <sup>१५</sup>MSS. °nīyah. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. *prāṇasamā śa*°. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl "replied to her by reciting this *gāthā*:" <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२०-२१</sup>Chl *param hi śokam*. <sup>२२-२३</sup>Chl *lit*. "Get rid of your affliction. What is the good of weeping?"

ततः कुनालो भार्यया सह तक्षशिलाया निष्कासितः । स गर्भाधानमुपादाय<sup>१</sup> परमसुकुमारशरीरः । न किञ्चिद् उत्सहते कर्म कर्तुं<sup>२</sup> । केवलं वीणां वादयति । गायति च । ततो<sup>३</sup> भैक्ष्यं लभते । कुनालः<sup>४</sup> पत्न्या सह भुङ्क्ते<sup>५</sup> ।

ततः काञ्चनमाला येन मार्गेण पाटलिपुत्रादानीता तमेव मार्ग-मनुसरन्ती भर्तृद्वितीया पाटलिपुत्रं गता<sup>६</sup> । यावदशोकस्य गृहमारब्धा प्रवेष्टुं । द्वारपालेन च निवारितौ । यावद्<sup>७</sup> राज्ञोऽशोकस्य यानशाला-यामवस्थितौ<sup>८</sup> ।

ततः कुनालो रात्र्याः प्रत्यूषसमये वीणां वादयितुमारब्धः । यथा<sup>९</sup> नयनान्युत्पाटितानि सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं तदनु रूपं हितं च गीतं प्रारब्धं । आह च ।

चक्षुरादीनि यः प्राज्ञः पश्यत्यायतनानि च ।

ज्ञानदीपेन शुद्धेन स संसाराद् विमुच्यते ॥

यदि तव भवदुःखपीडिता भवति च<sup>१०</sup> दोषविनिश्चिता मतिः ।

सुखमिह च यदीच्छसि ध्रुवं त्वरितमिहायतनानि संत्यज<sup>११</sup> ॥

<sup>१</sup>Chl *tau d-mpatī ājanma*. MSS. *garbhādānam u°*. <sup>१-२</sup>Chl "lived happily. They had not the strength to apply themselves to toilsome occupations, such as, either to carry loads or to labour." <sup>३</sup>Chl adds: *jīvikāyai* ("to earn livelihood"). D *bhaiṣajyam*. <sup>४-५</sup>Chl omits. <sup>६-७</sup>Chl "After a good many changes of direction they approached the town of Pāṭaliputra. Arriving at the gate of the royal palace...". <sup>८-९</sup>Chl "Kunāla passed the night in the stable of elephants attached to the gate (of the palace)." <sup>९</sup>MSS. *śayana-śālā°*. <sup>१०-११</sup>Chl "He related, in accompaniment of the *viṇā*, his grandeur as well as his misfortune and how he had found the Way, on account of his eyes being plucked out. Those who were near the gate, listened to him. They concentrated themselves on themselves (and saw in them) the union of attributes (*skandha*). All of them obtained escape (liberation) from the misfortune of transmigration. The king having heard the familiar voice and the sound of the *viṇā* said: 'The sound of this *viṇā* resembles the sound of the instrument of Kunāla. This song relates the good fortune as well as the misfortune. This is as well a song of someone who has built up his own greatness.'" <sup>११</sup>MSS. omit it. <sup>१२</sup>MSS. add *sva*.

‘तस्य गीतशब्दो राज्ञाऽशोकेन श्रुतः । श्रुत्वा च प्रीतमना उवाच ।  
गीतं कुनालेन मयि प्रसक्तं वीणास्वररचैव<sup>१</sup> श्रुतश्चिरेण ।  
अभ्यागतोऽपीह<sup>२</sup> गृहं नु कञ्चिन् न चेच्छ्रिति द्रष्टुमयं कुमारः ॥  
अथ राजाऽशोकोऽन्यतमपुरुषमाहूयोवाच । पुरुष लक्ष्यते ।  
न खल्वेष किं गीतस्य कुनालसदृशो ध्वनिः ।  
कर्मण्यधैर्यतां चैव सूचयन्निव लक्ष्यते<sup>३</sup> ॥  
तदनेनास्मि शब्देन धैर्यादाकम्पितो भृशं<sup>४</sup> ।  
कलभस्थेव नष्टस्य प्रनष्टकलभः करी ॥

‘गच्छ कुनालमानयस्वेति । यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गतः ।  
पश्यति कुनालम् उद्धृतनयनं<sup>५</sup> वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रमप्रत्यभिज्ञाय च<sup>६</sup>  
राजानमशोकम् अभिगम्योवाच । देव न<sup>७</sup> ह्येष कुनालः<sup>८</sup> । अन्वक एष  
वनीपकः<sup>९</sup> पत्न्या सह देवस्य<sup>१०</sup> यानशालायाम्<sup>११</sup> अवस्थितः । श्रुत्वा च  
राजा संविग्नश्चिन्तयामास । ‘यथा मया स्वप्नान्यशोभनानि दृष्टानि<sup>१२</sup>  
नियतं कुनालस्य नयनानि विनष्टानि भविष्यन्ति<sup>१३</sup> । आह च ।

स्वप्नान्तरे निमित्तानि यथा दृष्टानि मे पुरा ।

निःसंशयं कुनालस्य नेत्रे वै निधनं गते ॥

ततो राजा प्ररुदन्नुवाच<sup>१४</sup> ।

शीघ्रमानीयतामेष मत्समीपं<sup>१५</sup> वनीपकः<sup>१६</sup> ।

न हि मे शाम्यते<sup>१७</sup> चेतः सुतव्यसनचिन्तया<sup>१८</sup> ॥

यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गत्वा कुनालमुवाच<sup>१९</sup> । कस्य त्वं पुत्रः ।

किं च नाम । कुनालः प्राह ।

<sup>१-४</sup>Chl : cf. p. 117. <sup>२</sup>MSS. °*svarāṅ caiva śruti*°, °*ciraṅ śruto me*? <sup>३</sup>ABC °*gataś ceka*. AG °*grhaṅ na*. <sup>५</sup>Chl lit. “The strength of my mind is failing me.” <sup>६-८</sup>Chl “He ordered some persons to go to see. They saw Kunāla deprived of his eye-sight, lean and sun-burnt; and (so) could not recognize him.” <sup>७</sup>MSS. °*yanavā*°. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१०</sup>A °*andhala*, BC °*dhalaka*. <sup>११</sup>Chl adds: “lean and sun-burnt”. ABC °*paḡaḥ*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१४-१७</sup>Chl “Formerly, I have seen in dream my son Kunāla with eyes lost. Is it not he?” <sup>१५</sup>MSS. °*dr̥ṣṭvā*. <sup>१६</sup>AB °*ti*. <sup>१८</sup>D °*sāsyate*. <sup>१९</sup>Chl °*sutānusmarāṅān mama*. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl “Then he sent some persons who went again to the stable of elephants and

अशोको नाम राजाऽसौ मौर्याणां<sup>१</sup> कुलवर्धनः<sup>२</sup> ।

कृत्स्नेयं पृथिवी यस्य वशे वर्तति किंकर<sup>३</sup> ॥

तस्य राज्ञस्त्वहं पुत्रः कुनाल इति विश्रुतः ।

धार्मिकस्य<sup>४</sup> तु पुत्रोऽहं बुद्धस्य आदित्यवान्धवः<sup>५</sup> ॥

ततः कुनालः<sup>६</sup> पत्न्या सह राज्ञोऽशोकस्य समीपमानीतः । अथ

राजाऽशोकः [पश्यति] कुनालमुद्धृतनयनं वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रं<sup>७</sup> रथ्या-  
चोडकसंघातप्रत्यवरेण वाससा लक्ष्यालक्ष्यप्रच्छादितकौपीनं<sup>८</sup> । स तम-

प्रत्यभिज्ञाय आकृतिमात्रकं दृष्ट्वा कथयति । त्वं कुनाल इति ।

कुनालः प्राह । एवं देव कुनालोऽस्मीति । श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितो<sup>९</sup> भूमौ  
पतितः ।<sup>१०</sup> वक्ष्यति हि ।

ततः कुनालस्य मुखं निरीक्ष्य नेत्रोद्धृतं<sup>११</sup> शोकपरीतचेताः ।

राजा ह्यशोकः पतितो धरण्यां हा पुत्र शोकेन हि दह्यमानः<sup>१२</sup> ॥

यावज् जलपरिपेकं कृत्वा<sup>१३</sup> राजानमुत्थापयित्वाऽसने निपा-  
दितः<sup>१४</sup> । अथ राजा<sup>१५</sup> कथञ्चित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य<sup>१६</sup> कुनालमुत्सङ्गे स्थापया-  
मास ।<sup>१७</sup> वक्ष्यति हि ।

ततो मुहूर्तं नृप आश्वसित्वा कण्ठे परिष्वज्य रसाश्रुकण्ठः<sup>१८</sup> ।

मुहुः कुनालस्य मुखं प्रमृज्य बहूनि राजा विललाप तत्र ॥

नेत्रे कुनालप्रतिमे विलोक्य सुतं कुनालेति पुरा वभाषे ।

तदस्य नेत्रे निधनं गते ते पुत्रं<sup>१९</sup> कुनालेति कथं च वक्ष्ये<sup>२०</sup> ॥

आह च ।

कथय कथय साधुपुत्र<sup>२१</sup> तावद्

वदनमिदं तव केन<sup>२२</sup> चारुनेत्रं<sup>२३</sup> ।

<sup>१-२</sup>Chl *jambudvīpasya śāsakaḥ*. <sup>३</sup>MSS. <sup>०</sup>*karā*. <sup>४</sup>Chl *dharmarājasya ca*. <sup>५</sup>Chl omits *ādi*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>६</sup>Chl *andhaḥ*. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *rathyām coḍaka* (D *codaka*) *saṁhāta*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl reads: "skinny; the dresses in tatters". <sup>८</sup>Chl adds: "a man with a miserable aspect". ACD <sup>०</sup>*pīnaḥ*, B *kāpīnaḥ*. MSS. *sa tam a*<sup>०</sup>; is it for *santam a*<sup>०</sup>? <sup>९</sup>Chl "exhausted by suffering". ABD *ākṛtimātraṅkaṇi*, C <sup>०</sup>*gātrakaṇi*. <sup>१०-१२</sup>Chl omits. <sup>११</sup>MSS. <sup>०</sup>*te*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl *saṁāśvāsitaḥ*. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Chl *pariṣvajya*. <sup>१७</sup>MSS. *putra*. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Chl *lit*. "What name is to be given to you?" <sup>१९</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२०</sup>MSS. omit it.



तस्य गीतशब्दो राजाऽशोकेन श्रुतः । श्रुत्वा च प्रीतमना उवाच ।  
 गीतं कुनालेन मयि प्रसक्तं वीणास्वरश्चैव<sup>३</sup> श्रुतश्चिरेण ।  
 अम्यागतोऽपीह<sup>४</sup> गृहं नु कञ्चिन् न चेच्छ्रुति द्रष्टुमयं कुमारः ॥  
 अथ राजाऽशोकोऽन्यतमपुरुषमाहूयोवाच । पुरुष लक्ष्यते ।  
 न खल्वेष किं गीतस्य कुनालसदृशो ध्वनिः ।  
 कर्मण्यधैर्यतां चैव सूचयन्निव लक्ष्यते<sup>५</sup> ॥  
 तदनेनास्मि शब्देन धैर्यादाकम्पितो भूशं<sup>६</sup> ।  
 कलभस्थेव नष्टस्य प्रनष्टकलभः करी ॥

गच्छ कुनालमानयस्वेति । यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गतः ।  
 पश्यति कुनालम् उद्धृतनयनं<sup>७</sup> वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रमप्रत्यभिज्ञाय च<sup>८</sup>  
 राजानमशोकम् अभिगम्योवाच । देव न<sup>९</sup> ह्येष कुनालः<sup>१०</sup> । अन्धक एष  
 वनीपकः<sup>११</sup> पत्न्या सह देवस्य<sup>१२</sup> यानशालायाम्<sup>१३</sup> अवस्थितः । श्रुत्वा च  
 राजा संविग्नेश्चिन्तयामास । <sup>१४</sup>यथा मया स्वप्नान्यशोभनानि दृष्टानि<sup>१५</sup>  
 नियतं कुनालस्य नयनानि विनष्टानि भविष्यन्ति<sup>१६</sup> । आह च ।

स्वप्नान्तरे निमित्तानि यथा दृष्टानि मे पुरा ।

निःसंशयं कुनालस्य नेत्रे वै निधनं गते ॥

ततो राजा प्ररुदन्नुवाच<sup>१७</sup> ।

शीघ्रमानीयतामेष मत्समीपं<sup>१८</sup> वनीपकः<sup>१९</sup> ।

न हि मे शाम्यते<sup>२०</sup> चेतः सुतव्यसनचिन्तया<sup>२१</sup> ॥

यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गत्वा कुनालमुवाच<sup>२२</sup> । कस्य त्वं पुत्रः ।

किं च नाम । कुनालः प्राह ।

1-4Chl : cf. p. 117. 2MSS. °*svarāṃ caiva śruti*°. *ciraṃ śruto me?* 3ABC °*gataś ceha*. AC *grhaṃ na*. 4Chl lit. "The strength of my mind is failing me." 5-8Chl "He ordered some persons to go to see. They saw Kunāla deprived of his eye-sight, lean and sun-burnt; and (so) could not recognize him." 7MSS. °*yanavā*°. 9-10Chl omits. 10A *andhala*, BC °*dhalaka*. 11Chl adds: "lean and sun-burnt". ABC °*paḡaḡ*. 12-13Chl omits. 14-17Chl "Formerly, I have seen in dream my son Kunāla with eyes lost. Is it not he?" 15MSS. *dr̥ṣṭvā*. 16AE °*ti*. 18D *śāsyate*. 19Chl *sulānusmaraṇān mama*. 19-20Chl "Then he sent some persons who went again to the stable of elephants and asked the blind man..."

अशोको नाम राजाऽसौ मौर्याणां<sup>१</sup> कुलवर्धनः<sup>२</sup> ।

कृत्स्नेयं पृथिवी यस्य वशे वर्तति किंकर<sup>३</sup> ॥

तस्य राज्ञस्त्वहं पुत्रः कुनाल इति विश्रुतः ।

धार्मिकस्य<sup>४</sup> तु पुत्रोऽहं बुद्धस्य आदित्यवान्धवः<sup>५</sup> ॥

ततः कुनालः<sup>६</sup> पत्न्या सह राज्ञोऽशोकस्य समीपमानीतः । अथ राजाऽशोकः [पश्यति] कुनालमुद्धृतनयनं वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रं<sup>७</sup> रथ्या-  
चोडकसंघातप्रत्यवरेण वाससा लक्ष्यालक्ष्यप्रच्छादितकौपीनं<sup>८</sup> । स तम-  
प्रत्यभिज्ञाय आकृतिमात्रकं दृष्ट्वा कथयति । त्वं कुनाल इति ।  
कुनालः प्राह । एवं देव कुनालोऽस्मीति । श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितो<sup>९</sup> भूमौ  
पतितः ।<sup>१०</sup> वक्ष्यति हि ।

ततः कुनालस्य मुखं निरीक्ष्य नेत्रोद्धृतं<sup>११</sup> शोकपरीतचेताः ।

राजा ह्यशोकः पतितो धरण्यां हा पुत्र शोकेन हि दह्यमानः<sup>१२</sup> ॥

यावज् जलपरिपेकं कृत्वा<sup>१३</sup> राजानमुत्थापयित्वाऽसने निषा-  
दितः<sup>१४</sup> । अथ राजा<sup>१५</sup> कथञ्चित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य<sup>१६</sup> कुनालमुत्सङ्गे स्थापया-  
मास ।<sup>१७</sup> वक्ष्यति हि ।

ततो मुहूर्तं नृप आश्वसित्वा कण्ठे परिष्वज्य रसाश्रुकण्ठः<sup>१८</sup> ।

मुहुः कुनालस्य मुखं प्रमृज्य बहूनि राजा विललाप तत्र ॥

नेत्रे कुनालप्रतिमे विलोक्य सुतं कुनालेति पुरा वभाषे ।

तदस्य नेत्रे निधनं गते ते पुत्रं<sup>१९</sup> कुनालेति कथं च वक्ष्ये<sup>२०</sup> ॥

आह च ।

कथय कथय साधुपुत्रं<sup>२१</sup> तावद्

वदनमिदं तव केन<sup>२२</sup> चारुनेत्रं<sup>२३</sup> ।

<sup>१-२</sup>Chl *jambudvīpasya śāsakaḥ*. <sup>३</sup>MSS. <sup>४</sup>*karā*. <sup>५</sup>Chl *dharmarājasya ca*. <sup>६</sup>Chl omits *ādī*. <sup>७</sup>Chl *andhaḥ*. <sup>८</sup>MSS. *rathyān codaka (D codaka) saṁhāta*. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl reads: "skinny; the dresses in tatters". <sup>११</sup>Chl adds: "a man with a miserable aspect". ACD <sup>१२</sup>*pīnaḥ*, B *kāpinaḥ*. MSS. *sa tam a*; is it for *santam a*? <sup>१३</sup>Chl "exhausted by suffering". ABD *ākṛtimātraṅkaṇi*, C <sup>१४</sup>*gātrakaṇi*. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१७</sup>MSS. <sup>१८</sup>*te*. <sup>१९-२०</sup>Chl *saṁśvāsitaḥ*. <sup>२१-२२</sup>Chl *pariṣvajya*. <sup>२३</sup>MSS. *putra*. <sup>२४-२५</sup>Chl lit. "What name is to be given to you?" <sup>२६</sup>Chl omits. <sup>२७</sup>MSS. omit it.

‘अहमेव महाराज कृतापराधश्च सापराधश्च । विनिवर्तयामि  
योऽहं विनयामि विपत्तिजननानि’ ।

न शस्त्रवज्राग्निविषाणि पन्नगाः  
कुर्वन्ति पीडां रभसापकारिणः<sup>३</sup> ।  
शरीरलक्ष्ये<sup>३</sup> हि धृते हि<sup>४</sup> पार्थिव  
पतन्ति दुःखान्यशिवानि देहिनां<sup>५</sup> ॥

अथ राजा शोकाग्निना संतापितहृदय उवाच ।

‘केनोद्धृतानि नयनानि सुतस्य मह्यं  
को जीवितं सुमधुरं त्यजितुं व्यवस्तः ।  
शोकानलो<sup>६</sup> निपतितो हृदये प्रचण्डः  
आचक्ष्व पुत्र लघु कस्य हरामि दण्डं ॥

यावद् राज्ञाऽशोकेन श्रुतं तिष्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोग इति ।  
श्रुत्वा<sup>६</sup> राजा तिष्यरक्षितामाहूयोवाच ।

<sup>१</sup>Chl omits this. <sup>२</sup>MSS. *nabhaso'vikāriṇaḥ*. The MSS. reading is modified with the help of the Chinese reading (“hostile and cruel”). <sup>३</sup>MSS. *°kṣyeṇa*. <sup>४</sup>MSS. *dhṛtena*. <sup>५-६</sup>Chl reads: “These are not the ills caused by plagues that come to afflict my body. These are my past actions, the retribution of which I receive now. To make others suffer (on account of this) will be a great injustice. Every creature who has a body resembles a target which receives a multitude of arrows.” <sup>६-९</sup>Chl “Who is the creature devoid of love that has taken away from you the eyes while you are living!” Kunāla said, ‘That is you, my father who have ordered to pluck them out.’ The king said, ‘If I have ordered anybody to pluck out your eyes, I shall cut off my tongue.’ Kunāla said, ‘My father, the edict was sealed with your teeth.’ The king said, ‘If I have sealed it with my teeth I shall pluck out my teeth. If my eyes have seen it, I shall pluck out my eyes.’ Tiṣyarakṣitā having called the queen Padmāvati, said to her: ‘Pluck out my eyes now. I go to beg together with my son to earn my livelihood.’ These words had reached the ears of the king; he reflected thus: ‘Tiṣyarakṣitā has certainly caused to pluck out the eyes of my son.’” This paragraph which relates how Aśoka came to know the culprit, is not found in Ch2. <sup>७</sup>MSS. *°nale*.

कथं ह्यवन्ये<sup>१</sup> न निमज्जसे क्षितौ  
 छेत्तास्मि शीर्षं परशुप्रहारितं<sup>२</sup> ।  
 त्यजाम्यहं त्वामतिपापकारिणीम्  
 अवर्मयुक्तां श्रियमात्मवानिव<sup>३</sup> ॥

ततो राज्ञा क्रोधाग्निना प्रज्वलितस्तिप्यरक्षितां निरीक्ष्योवाच :

"उत्पाद्य नेत्रे परिपाटयामि  
 गात्रं किमन्या<sup>४</sup> नखरैः सुतीक्ष्णैः ।  
 जीवन्निशूलामथ काश्यामि  
 छेत्तास्मि नासां<sup>५</sup> ऋकचन वाऽस्याः ॥  
 क्षुरेण जिह्वामथ कर्तयामि<sup>६</sup>  
 त्रिपेण पूर्णमथ वाटयिष्ये ।  
 स एवमित्यादिववप्रयोगं  
 बहुप्रकारं ह्यवदन्नरेन्द्रः ॥  
 श्रुत्वा कुनालः "कृष्णात्मकस्तु  
 विज्ञापयामास गुरुं महात्मा ।  
 अनार्यकर्मा यदि तिप्यरक्षिता  
 त्वमार्यकर्मा" भव मा ववी<sup>७</sup> स्त्रियं ॥  
 "फलं हि मैत्र्या सदृशं न विद्यते  
 प्रभो" निनिक्षा मुगतेन वर्णिता<sup>८</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>MSS. *hi dhanye*. Chl adds here: *nr̥s̥am̐se*. <sup>२</sup>MSS. *chinnāmi*. <sup>३</sup>MSS. *prahārāḥ*. <sup>४-५</sup>Chl reads: "You creature, who destroy the Law. Really I hate you. You who showed a feigned affection to a kith and kins!" <sup>६-७</sup>Chl "You have destroyed the eyes of my son, I am going to tear to pieces the skin of your body." <sup>८</sup>Chl *gātraṁ*. ABC *śām atikacena*. D *aticena*. <sup>९</sup>Chl adds: "With big blunt axe, I shall break your bones. I shall throw your body into the furnace!" MSS. *ks̥areṇa juḥvām ath . . . pūrṇāmy ath . . .* <sup>१०</sup>MSS. *ityevam ādi*. <sup>११</sup>MSS. *sakarū*. <sup>१२</sup>Chl lit. "Tisya" has taken as her principle, recourse to the evil ways and so (she has acted thus. You must now, O king, be guided by the Holy Law." <sup>१३</sup>MSS. *vadha*. <sup>१४-१५</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१६</sup>MSS. *bhas*.

पुनः प्रणम्य<sup>१</sup> पितरं कुमारः

कृताञ्जलिः सूनृतवाग् जगाद ॥

राजन्न मे दुःखलवोऽस्ति कश्चित् तीव्रापकारेऽपि न मन्युतापः ।

मनः प्रसन्नं यदि मे जनन्यां ययोद्धृते मे नयने स्वयं हि ।

तत्तेन सत्येन ममास्तु तावन् नेत्रद्वयं प्राक्तनमेव सद्यः ॥

इत्युक्तमात्रे पूर्वाधिकप्रशोभिते नेत्रयुग्मे प्रादुर्बभूवतुः<sup>३</sup> । यावद्

राज्ञाऽशोकेन तिष्यरक्षिताऽर्षितेन<sup>४</sup> जतुगृहं प्रवेशयित्वा दग्धा ।

ऋक्षशिलाश्च पौराः प्रघातितः<sup>५</sup> ।

भिक्षवः<sup>६</sup> संशयजाताः “सर्वसंशयच्छेत्तारमायुष्मन्तं<sup>७</sup> स्थविरोप-  
गुप्तं पृच्छति । किं कुनालेन कर्म कृतं यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन<sup>८</sup>  
नयनान्युत्पाटितानि ।

स्थविर उवाच । तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः श्रूयतां<sup>९</sup> ।

भूतपूर्वमतीतेऽध्वनि वाराणस्यामन्यतमो लुब्धकः । स<sup>१०</sup> हिमवन्तं  
गत्वा मृगान् प्रघातयति । सोऽपरेण समयेन हिमवन्तं गतः । तत्र  
चाशनिपतितानि<sup>११</sup> पञ्चमृगशतानि । एकस्यां गुहायां प्रविष्टान्या-  
सादितानि<sup>१२</sup> । तेन वागुरया सर्वे गृहीताः<sup>१३</sup> । तस्य बुद्धिस्तपन्ना । यदि

<sup>१</sup>AB °ṇaśyā. D °namyā. °śca natvā ? <sup>२</sup>A duḥkhalosti. B °khamvāsti. C °khanosti. D duḥkha—vosti. <sup>१-३</sup>Chl reads: “It is not proper to get angry with the children or with low and unreasonable persons.” The miracle of getting the eyes back is neither found in Chl nor in Ch2. <sup>४</sup>MSS. jantu°. <sup>३-५</sup>Chl “But the king did not listen to him. A torture-hall (*lit.* a hall of glue, of...) was made and (the queen) was burnt alive. The inhabitants of the town of Takṣaśilā were equally destroyed by fire.” <sup>६</sup>Chl adds: *etat sarvaṃ jñātvā*. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl omits. <sup>९-१०</sup>Chl *lit. kasmāt kāraṇād adhunā kuṇālasya*. <sup>११</sup>Chl adds: “I am going to relate it to you.” <sup>१२-१३</sup>Chl “In summer, he lived among the people. In winter, he went to hunt in the mountain. Having approached the snowy mountains (*himavat*) he was caught by a sudden shower of hail-storm.” <sup>१३</sup>C *ca śeni patitāni*. MSS. omit *pañcamṛgaśatāni*. <sup>१४</sup>Chl omits *āsāditāni*. <sup>१४-१६</sup>Chl omits.

प्रघातयिष्यामि 'भांसः क्लेदमुपयास्मति' । तेन पञ्चानां मृगशताना-  
मक्षीप्सुत्पाटितानि' । ते उद्धतनयना न क्वचित् पलायन्ति । एवं  
बहूनां मृगशतानां नयनान्मुत्पाटितानि ।

किं मन्यध्वमायुष्मन्तः' । यौस्तौ लुब्धकः स एष कुमालः ।  
'भक्तत्रानेन बहूनां मृगशतानां नयनान्मुत्पाटितानि तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन  
बहूनि वर्षशतसहस्राणि नरकेषु दुःखमनुभूय ततः कर्मविशेषेण' पञ्च-  
जन्मशतानि' तस्य नयनान्मुत्पाटितानि ।

-किं कर्म कृतं यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चे कुले' उपपन्नः ।  
प्रासादिकश्च संवृतः । सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं ।

"तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः भ्रूयतां" ।

भूतपूर्वमतीतेऽध्वनि चत्वारिंशद्वर्षसहस्रायुषि प्रजायां ककुच्छन्दो  
नाम सम्पक्सम्बुद्धो" लोक उदपादि ।

यदा" ककुच्छन्दः सम्पक्सम्बुद्धः सकलं बुद्धकार्यं कृत्वा"  
निरूपधिशेषे निर्वाणघातौ परिनिर्बृतः, तस्माज्शोकेन" राज्ञा चतुरत्न-  
मयः स्तूपः कारितः" । यदा राजाऽशोकः" कालगतोऽश्वाद्धो" राजा  
राज्ये" प्रतिष्ठितः । तानि रत्नान्यदत्तादायिकैर्हृतानि" । पांशुकाष्ठं  
चावशिष्टं । "तत्र जनकायो गत्वा "विशीर्णं दृष्ट्वा शोचितु-  
मारब्धः" ।

<sup>1</sup>Chl adds here: "all at a time". <sup>2</sup>Chl adds: "I am going to pluck out their eyes and I shall eat a deer every day." <sup>3-4</sup>Chl "Now he has his eyes plucked out due to that (evil) act." <sup>5-6</sup>Chl "since that time till the present day". <sup>7</sup>Chl adds *spread*. <sup>8-9</sup>Chl *purus to prakashe katham upadante*. <sup>10</sup>Chl reads: "(Upagupta) replied:" <sup>11</sup>Chl "a Buddha". <sup>12-14</sup>Chl *lit.* "having completed the conversions which he had to do". <sup>15-16</sup>Chl "In that time, there was a king named Gracious (Ch2 "Sobha"), who, in honour of this Buddha, erected a *saptaratanamaya-stupa* (a *stupa* of stone decorated with seven precious substances) the site of which was a square of forty *li* obliquely." <sup>17</sup>MSS. *prati stupaṃ kṛtān*. <sup>18</sup>Chl "Gracious", Ch2 "Sobha". <sup>19</sup>Chl takes it as a proper name ("a king named Asradhha"). Ch2 agrees with the text. <sup>20</sup>MSS. *āpān*. <sup>21</sup>Chl *rajanim tena hṛtā*. <sup>22</sup>MSS. *āpān*. <sup>23-24</sup>Chl "wept, expressed regret and anger."

तस्मिंश्च समयेऽन्यतमश्च श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः<sup>१</sup> । तेनोक्तः । किमर्थं  
रुद्यत इति । तैरभिहितं ऋकुच्छन्दस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्तूपश्चतूरत्न-  
मय<sup>२</sup> आसीत् । <sup>३</sup>स इदानीं विशीर्णं इति ।

ततस्तेन या<sup>४</sup> तत्र ऋकुच्छन्दस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य कायप्रमाणिका  
प्रतिमा बभूव विशीर्णा साभिसंस्कृता<sup>५</sup> । सम्यक्प्रणिधानं च कृतं ।  
यादृशः<sup>६</sup> ऋकुच्छन्दः शास्तेदृशमेव शास्तारमारागयेयं । मा विरागयेय-  
मिति ।

किं मन्यध्वमायुष्मन्तः । योऽसौ श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः स एष कुनालः<sup>७</sup> ।  
यत्रानेन ऋकुच्छन्दस्य<sup>८</sup> स्तूपोऽभिसंस्कृतस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्च-  
कुले<sup>९</sup> उपपन्नः । यत् <sup>१०</sup>प्रतिमाऽभिसंस्कृता<sup>११</sup> तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन  
कुनालः<sup>१२</sup> प्रासादिकः संवृत्तः । यत् प्रणिधानं कृतं तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन  
कुनालेन [यादृशः] शाक्यमुनिः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्तादृश एव शास्ता  
समारागितो न विरागितः । सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं ।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदाने<sup>१३</sup> कुनालावदानं सप्तविंशतिमं<sup>१४</sup> समाप्तं ॥

<sup>१</sup>ChI reads : *kulaputraḥ* ("a son of a good family"). <sup>२</sup>ChI *saptaratna-  
maya*. MSS. *stūpaṃ catū... mayam ā°*. <sup>३-५</sup>ChI "Now it has been  
destroyed by persons who have stolen the seven precious sub-  
stances and have left nothing but earth and wood (*ḥpāmsū-kāṣṭha*);  
and that is why we weep." Then the *kulaputra* replaced the  
*saptaratna*, repaired the *stūpa* and decorated it as before. Besides,  
he made a big statue which resembled exactly the figure of  
Kraku° Buddha." <sup>४</sup>MSS. *ca*. <sup>६-७</sup>ChI "May I, in future, resemble  
this Buddha, obtain the supreme deliverance and the excel-  
lent Fruit of Purity." <sup>८</sup>ChI adds : *mahārghaḥ*. MSS. *stūpaṃ abhi  
... tam tasya*. <sup>९</sup>ChI adds : *prabale kule*. <sup>१०</sup>ChI adds : *buddha*.  
<sup>११</sup>ChI *nirmitā*. MSS. *°skṛtā tena*. <sup>१२</sup>MSS. *°nāle*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>ChI "He has  
obtained the beauty at present. For having made a correct vow  
(*samyak praṇidhāna*) in the past, he has obtained, at present, the  
traces of the Way." <sup>१३</sup>ABC omit it. <sup>१४</sup>ABC *saptāvim°*. D omits it.

## अशोकावदानं

यदा राज्ञाऽशोकेन<sup>१</sup> भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा स भिक्षून्<sup>२</sup> उवाच । 'केन भगवच्छासने प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं । भिक्षव ऊचुः<sup>३</sup> । अनाथ-पिण्डदेन गृहपतिना । राजाऽह । कियत्तेन भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं । भिक्षव ऊचुः<sup>४</sup> । कोटिशतं तेन भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं । श्रुत्वा च राजाऽशोकश्चिन्तयति<sup>५</sup> । तेन गृहपतिना भूत्वा कोटिशतं भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं । तेनाभिहितं । अहमपि कोटीशतं भगच्छासने दानं दास्यामि<sup>६</sup> ।

तेन यावच्च चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>७</sup> । सर्वत्र<sup>८</sup> च शतसहस्राणि दत्तानि । जातौ बोधौ धर्मचक्रे परिनिर्वाणे च सर्वत्र शतसहस्रं दत्तं । पञ्चवार्षिकं कृतं । तत्र च चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि दत्तानि । त्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां भोजितानि । यत्रैकमर्हतां द्वे शैक्षाणां<sup>९</sup> पृथग्जनकल्याणकानां च । कोपं स्थापयित्वा<sup>१०</sup> महापृथिवी-मन्तःपुरामात्यगणमात्मानं कुनालं चार्यसङ्घे निर्यातयित्वा<sup>११</sup> चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि दत्त्वा निष्क्रीतवान्<sup>१२</sup> । षण्णवतिकोटयो भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं । स यावद् ग्लानीभूतः । अथ राजा इदानीं न भविष्यामीति विक्लवीभूतः ।

तस्य राधगुप्तो नामामात्यो<sup>१३</sup> येन सह पाञ्चुदानं दत्तं । तदा स राजानमशोकं विक्लवीभूतमवेक्ष्य पादयो<sup>१४</sup>र्निपत्य<sup>१५</sup> कृताञ्जलिरुवाच ।

<sup>१</sup>M8 & Div. add: *ardhāmalakadānena* which Ch omit. <sup>२</sup>ChI reads: *upaguptam*. <sup>३</sup>ChI adds: "When Buddha was in this world." <sup>४</sup>ChI "Upagupta replied:" ChI reads "Sudatta", Ch2 "Anāthapindada". <sup>५</sup>ChI *upagupta u*. <sup>६</sup>ChI *uvāca*. <sup>७</sup>ChI adds: *nūnam yuktam eva mayā jambudvīpādhipatinā tāvad dātum*. <sup>८</sup>ChI omits this sentence and the preceding one. Here ChI reads: *mahāpṛthivīm amātyaga . . . niryātitavān*. After this *tena yāvaccatur aśīti*. <sup>९</sup>ChI adds: "as well as the *stūpas* of the *śrāvakas*. He watered the Bodhi-tree." <sup>१०-१२</sup>ChI omits. <sup>११</sup>M8 & Div. *dvau śī*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>ChI: see above. <sup>१३-१४</sup>ChI omits. <sup>१५</sup>M8 *niṣkrata*. <sup>१६</sup>ChI *agrāmātyo yena tasya pāmśudānam anumoditam*. <sup>१७</sup>ChI omits.



यच्छत्रसङ्घः प्रवलैः समेत्य  
नोद्वीक्षितं चण्डदिवाकरामं ।

पद्माननश्रीशतसंप्रपीतं  
कस्मात् सवाष्पं तव देव वक्त्रं ॥

राजाऽह । राघगुप्त, नाहं द्रव्यविनाशं न राज्यनाशनं न  
चाश्रयवियोगं शोचामि । किन्तु शोचामि, आर्यैर्देव विप्रयोक्ष्यामि<sup>१</sup> ।

नाहं पुनः सर्वगुणोपपन्नं  
सङ्घं समक्षं नरदेवपूजितं ।

संपूजयिष्यामि वरान्नपानैर्  
एतद् विचिन्त्याश्रुविमोक्षणं मे<sup>२</sup> ॥

अपि च राघगुप्त, अयं मे मनोरथो बभूव, कोटीशतं भगवच्छासने  
दानं दास्यामीति । स<sup>३</sup> च मेऽभिप्रायो न परिपूर्णः<sup>४</sup> ।

ततो राज्ञाऽशोकेन चतस्रः<sup>५</sup> कोटीः<sup>६</sup> परिपूरयिष्यामीति<sup>७</sup> हिरण्य-  
सुवर्णं कुक्कुटारामं प्रेषयितुमारब्धः<sup>८</sup> ।

तस्मिंश्च समये कुनालस्य संपदी<sup>९</sup> नाम पुत्रो युवराज्ये प्रवर्तते ।  
तस्यामात्यैर्<sup>१०</sup> अभिहितं । कुमार<sup>११</sup> अशोको राजा स्वल्पकालावस्थायी ।

1-2Ch1 reads: "Only 84000 concubines could look at your face. Now, when you are sick, you resemble the sun that is going to set. All the three worlds undergo changes and transformations. The sentient beings are bound to suffer and die. Let Your Majesty meditate on impermanence. What is the use of getting afflicted?" Div. A *padmānana . . . samprayogaṁ*. <sup>3</sup>M8 & Div. *yukṣyāmi*. <sup>4</sup>M8 & Div. *etaṁ*. <sup>5</sup>Ch1 omits this *śloka*. <sup>6</sup>Ch1 "I could give 96 crores; four crores are still wanting and so I grieve." Rādhagupta said, 'Your treasures are numerous. The total sum must be given.' <sup>7</sup>M8 & Div. *catvārah koṭyaḥ*. <sup>7-8</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>9</sup>M8 & Div. (except D) *kur*<sup>o</sup>. <sup>10</sup>M8 *bdhā*. <sup>11</sup>Chinese translations transliterate the name in different ways. Vide Notes. Div. A *sampadi*. <sup>12</sup>Ch1 "the wicked ministers with perverse views (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*)". <sup>13</sup>Ch1 reads these sentences with more details: "King Aśoka approaches the end of his life. He squanders away his treasures; having given away all, he is about to be ruined. You will be the king. The treasures and the precious things are the resources of a king. That they may not be completely squandered away, you must now put a stop to it.' Eul-

इदं च द्रव्यं कुक्कुटारामं<sup>१</sup> प्रेष्यते । कोशवलिनश्च राजानः । निवार-  
यितव्यः ।

यावत्कुमारेण भाण्डागारिकः प्रतिषिद्धः । यदा राज्ञोऽशोकस्या-  
प्रतिषिद्धा [सम्पत्] तस्य सुवर्णभाजने आहारमुपनाम्यते । भुक्त्वा  
तानि सुवर्णभाजनानि कुक्कुटारामं<sup>२</sup> प्रेषयति ।

तस्य सुवर्णभाजनं प्रतिषिद्धं । रूप्यभाजने आहारमुपनाम्यते ।  
तान्यपि कुक्कुटारामं<sup>३</sup> प्रेषयति । ततो रूप्यभाजनमपि प्रतिषिद्धं<sup>४</sup> ।  
तस्य यावन् मृद्भाजन आहारमुपनाम्यते ।

तस्मिंश्च समये राज्ञोऽशोकस्याधर्मिलकं करान्तरगतं<sup>५</sup> । अथ  
राजाऽशोकः संविग्णः<sup>६</sup> अमात्यान् पौरांश्च<sup>७</sup> संनिपात्य कथयति । कः  
साम्प्रतं पृथिव्यामीश्वरः ।

ततोऽमात्या<sup>८</sup> उत्थायासनाद् येन राजाऽशोकस्तेनाञ्जलिं प्रणम्य  
ऊचुः<sup>९</sup> । देवः पृथिव्यामीश्वरः । अथ राजा अशोकः<sup>१०</sup> साश्रुदुर्दिन-  
नयनवदनोऽमात्यान्<sup>११</sup> उवाच ।

दाक्षिण्यादनृतं हि किं कथयथ<sup>१२</sup> भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं

शेषं त्वामलकार्थमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम ।

ऐश्वर्यं<sup>१३</sup> धिगनार्यमुद्धतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपमं<sup>१४</sup>

मर्त्येन्द्रस्य ममापि यत् प्रतिभयं दारिद्र्यमभ्यागतं<sup>१५</sup> ॥

mo-t'i (Sampadi) in accordance with the ministers took advantage of the illness and took away all that belonged to the king. He was given only one gold plate and one silver plate in which the royal repast was served."

<sup>१</sup>Div. AB & M8 *kurku*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>२</sup>Div. *kurku*<sup>०</sup>. <sup>३</sup>Chl omits this sentence. M8 & Div. add: *yāval lohabhājana āhāram upanāmyate. tāny api rājā'sokaḥ kurkuṭārāmaṃ preṣayati.* <sup>४</sup>Div. D omits *ardha*. A *kalātaragatam*, BD *kalabhagatam*. Chl "Finally the king was given the half of an *āmalaka* fruit. Having received the fruit...". <sup>५</sup>Chl omits. M8 <sup>०</sup>*mātyam*. <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. <sup>०</sup>*tya*. <sup>७-८</sup>Chl simply *amātyā ūcuḥ*. <sup>९</sup>M8 & Div. *uvāca*. <sup>१०-११</sup>Chl omits. <sup>१२</sup>Chl "You are in error when you say that I am the master." M8 <sup>०</sup>*yata*. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Chl "Oh! The riches are utterly contemptible!" <sup>१५</sup>Chl adds after this: "I possess nothing but the half of an *āmalaka* fruit. (I am) like a violent stream which stops when it strikes a rock.' Then he recited the following *gāthās*:"

अथवा को भगवतो वाक्यमन्यथा करिष्यति । सम्पत्तयो हि सर्वा विपत्तिनिदाना<sup>१</sup> इति प्रतिज्ञातं यदवितथवादिना गौतमेन न<sup>२</sup> हि तद् विसंवदति । प्रतिशिष्यतेऽस्मन्नचिराज्ज्ञा मम यावत्तिथा<sup>३</sup> मनसा सास्य महाद्रिशिलातले विहतावन् नदी प्रतिनिवृत्ता<sup>४</sup> ।

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमराम्<sup>५</sup> एकातपत्रां महीं  
उत्पाट्य प्रतिगर्वितानरिगणान् आश्वास्य दीनातुरान् ।  
भ्रष्टाऽस्थाऽयतनो<sup>६</sup> न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपश्<sup>७</sup>  
रिच्छन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा<sup>८</sup> ॥

ततो<sup>९</sup> राजाऽशोकः समीपगतं पुरुषमाहूयोवाच । “भद्रमुख पूर्वगुणानुरागाद् भ्रष्टैश्वर्यस्यापि मम इमं तावद् अपश्चिमं व्यापारं कुरु<sup>१०</sup> । इदं ममार्धमिलकं ग्रहाय<sup>११</sup> कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा सङ्घे निर्यातय । मद्दचनाच्च सङ्घस्य पादाभिर्वन्दनं कृत्वा वक्तव्यं<sup>१२</sup> ।

जम्बुद्वीपैश्वर्यस्य राज्ञ एष साम्प्रतं विभव इति । इदं<sup>१३</sup> तावद् अपश्चिमं दानं तथा परिभोक्तव्यं यथा मे सङ्घगता दक्षिणा विस्तीर्णा स्यादिति । आह च<sup>१४</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>Div. & M8 °dhanā. <sup>२</sup>M8 omits na. <sup>३</sup>Div. & M8 yāvati yathā. Div. BD manasā sā dyai. M8 °dya. Div. A manasā dyai. Div. BD silātala. A °tale. Div. vihita°. M8 vihivanna°. <sup>४</sup>Ch1 “The speeches of Buddha are veridical. In his speeches there is nothing which is not correct. He said: ‘Those who love have the pangs of separation.’ Formerly I gave orders and none could obstruct them. Today I am like a (spring of) rushing water that strikes a rock and stops flowing. Actually, in the same way, my orders are disobeyed.” Div. °nirvṛ°. <sup>५</sup>Ch1 omits this adjective. Div. AB °vyavadhṛta°. <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. °ṣṭāchāya°. <sup>७-८</sup>Ch1 “Today my power is gone. I am like a broken chariot which itself has no longer any planks for support.” <sup>९</sup>Div. °chinnā°. <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 adds: “I have lost all supports. My edict is a dead letter.” <sup>११</sup>Div. talo . . . . samīpam gataim. <sup>१२</sup>Ch2 has mistaken this for a proper name. <sup>१३-१४</sup>Ch1 “Having recited these gāthās he called a dignitary attending him, gave him the āmalaka and the following order:” <sup>१५-१६</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१७</sup>M8 & Div. kurku° (D kukku°). <sup>१८</sup>Ch1 reads this sentence simply: “You shall speak to the Sthavira.” <sup>१९-२०</sup>Ch1 omits.

इदं प्रदानं चरमं ममाद्य  
राज्यं च तच्चैव<sup>१</sup> गतं स्वभावं ।  
आरोग्यवैद्योषधिर्वजितस्य  
त्राता न मेऽस्त्यार्यगणाद् वहिर्घा ॥

तत्तथा भुज्यतां येन प्रदानं मम परिचमं ।

यथा सङ्घगता मेऽद्य विस्तीर्णा दक्षिणा भवेत् ॥

एवं देवेति स पुरुषो राज्ञोऽशोकस्य प्रतिश्रुत्य तदर्धमिलकं गृह्य  
कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा वृद्धान्ते स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिस्तदर्धमिलकं सङ्घे  
निर्यातयन्नुवाच<sup>१</sup> ।

एकच्छत्रसमुच्छ्रयां वसुमतीमाज्ञापयन् यः पुरा

‘लोकं तापयति स्म मध्यदिवसप्राप्तो दिवा भास्करः’<sup>५</sup> ।

‘भाग्यच्छिद्रमवेक्ष्य सोऽद्य नृपतिः स्वैः कर्मभिर्वञ्चितः

संप्राप्ते दिवसक्षये रविरिव भ्रष्टप्रभावः स्थितः ॥

भक्त्यावनतेन शिरसा प्रणम्य सङ्घाय तेन खलु दत्तमिदमामल-  
कस्यार्धं ‘लक्ष्मीचापल्यचिह्नितं । ततः’ सङ्घस्थविरो भिक्षूनुवाच ।  
‘भदन्ता भवद्भिः शक्यमिदानीं संवेगमुत्पादयितुं । कुतः । एवं ह्युक्तं  
भगवता—परविपत्तिः संवेजनीयं स्थानमिति । कस्येदानीं सहृदयस्य  
संवेगो नोत्पाद्यते । कुतः’<sup>६</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup>M8 & Div. *tam*. M8 omits *rājyam*. <sup>२-३</sup>Ch1 reads: “‘May the Saṅgha receive with compassion the last alm of the unfortunate one, as I am, so that I may acquire merits.’ Thereupon the Sthavira Yaśas addressed the Saṅgha, the following: ‘You have all seen king Aśoka enjoying good fortune and pleasures.’” <sup>४-५</sup>Ch1 “Today he is governed by the throng of his subjects. They have robbed him of his royal wealth in such a way that he has none of them at his disposal. There is nothing else than this half of an *āmalaka* fruit which he can dispose of, at his will. With a grave and aggrieved mind, he comes to offer this to the religious ones.” <sup>६-७</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>७</sup>M8 & Div. BD *lakṣmyā cāpāly*°, Div. A *°kṣyānā-pālyā*°. <sup>९</sup>Div. & M8 *bhavantaḥ* for *bhavadbhiḥ*. <sup>९-१०</sup>Ch1 puts this passage after *yūṣe prakṣīpya saṅghe cāritam* and reads it as follows: “It suits now for this reason to express a bitter distaste and a profound aversion for transmigration ! Treasures and

पत्यागशूरो नरेन्द्रोऽसौ अशोको मोर्यकुञ्जरः ।

जम्बुद्वीपेश्वरो भूत्वा जातोऽर्धामलकेश्वरः ॥

भृत्यैः स भूमिपतिरद्य हृताधिकारो

दानं प्रयच्छति किलामलकार्धमेतत् ।

श्रीभोगविस्तरमदैरतिगर्वितानां

प्रत्यादिशन्निव मनांसि पृथग्जनानां ॥

यावद् तदर्धामलकं चूर्णयित्वा यूषे प्रक्षिप्य<sup>३</sup> सङ्घे चारितं ।

ततो राजाऽशोको राधगुप्तमुवाच<sup>४</sup> । कथय राधगुप्त कः साम्प्रतं

पृथिव्यामीश्वरः ।

अथ राधगुप्तोऽशोकस्य<sup>५</sup> पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिर्<sup>६</sup> उवाच ।

देवः पृथिव्यामीश्वरः ।

अथ राजाऽशोकः कथंचिद्रुत्थाय चतुर्दिशमवलोक्य<sup>७</sup> सङ्घाया-  
ञ्जलिं कृत्वोवाच ।

एष इदानीं महत् कोशं स्थापयित्वा इमां समुद्रपर्यन्तां महा-  
पृथिवीं भगवच्छ्रावकसङ्घे नियतियामि ।

आह च ।

इमां समुद्रोत्तमनीलकञ्चुका-

मनेकरत्नाकरभूषिताननां ।

ददाम्यहं भूतधरां<sup>८</sup> समन्दरां

सङ्घाय तस्मै ह्युपभुज्यतां फलं ॥

pleasures vanish quickly ! Power and sovereignty are soon lost. Fic ! The transmigration well deserves aversion and disgust.”  
<sup>1</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>2</sup>Ch1 “Then the Sthavira gave order to the man-in-charge to grate (the fruit) in the soup, so that all the monks may participate in the offering.” M8 & Div. ABD *yūthe*. A *prakṣipta*. <sup>3</sup>Before this, Ch1 adds an obscure passage (See Notes) which is neither found in the M8 nor Div. nor in Ch2. <sup>4-6</sup>Ch1 “When king Aśoka approached the end of his life, he asked Rādhā°...” <sup>5-6</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>7</sup>M8 & Div. AB *avasākya*. <sup>8</sup>Div. A *satadharāṇi*, D *sūdhārāṇi*, M8 *bhūdhārāṇi*. <sup>9</sup>Div. & M8 *tasminn upabhujyate*. Ch1 omits this *śloka*.

अपि च ।

दानेनाहमनेन नेन्द्रभवनं न ब्रह्मलोके फलं

काङ्क्षामि द्रुतवारिवेगचपलां प्रागेव राजश्रियं ।

दानस्यास्य फलं तु भक्तिमहितं<sup>१</sup> यन्मेऽस्ति तेनाप्नुयां

चित्तैश्वर्यमहार्यमार्यमहितं<sup>२</sup> नायाति यद् विक्रियां<sup>३</sup> ॥

यावत् पत्राभिलिखितं कृत्वा दन्तमुद्रया मुद्रितं<sup>४</sup> । ततो राजा महापृथिवीं सङ्घे दत्त्वा कालगतः । यावदमात्यैर्नीलपीताभिः शिविकाभिर्निर्हरित्वा<sup>५</sup> शरीरपूजां कृत्वा ध्मापयित्वा<sup>६</sup> राजानं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्याम इति [उक्तम्]<sup>७</sup> । यावद् राधगुप्तेनाभिहितं । राज्ञोऽशोकेन महापृथिवी सङ्घे निर्यातिता इति । ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितं । किमर्थमिति ।

राधगुप्त उवाच । एष राज्ञोऽशोकस्य मनोरथो बभूव<sup>८</sup> कोटीशतं भगवच्छासने दानं दास्यामीति । तेन षण्णवत्तिकोटयो<sup>९</sup> दत्ताः । यावद् आज्ञा प्रतिषिद्धा<sup>१०</sup> । तदभिप्रायेण राज्ञा महापृथिवी सङ्घे दत्ता ।

यावदमात्यैश्चतस्रः कोटीर्<sup>११</sup> भगवच्छासने दत्त्वा पृथिवीं निष्क्रीय संपदी राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापितः ।

<sup>१</sup>Div. & M8 °mahato. Ch1 reads this *śloka* as follows: "But I wish that in future, wherever I may be born, I attain the sovereignty over my own self, and realize promptly the Holy Fruit." <sup>२</sup>M8 omits *ārya*. <sup>३</sup>M8 °yā. <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. *dattaṃ mu*°. Ch1 "sealed it with his teeth." Ch1 adds: "and gave it to minister Rādhagupta." According to Ch2, the document was written on a palm-leaf (*to lo = tāla*). <sup>५</sup>Div. AB only *ratvā*. <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. omit it. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 reads this passage as: "The ministers in accordance with the established law of the Cakravartin king, decorated him with all sorts of decorations, paid him homage and cremated him. Sampadī was crowned king." Ch2 reads: "Having decorated a litter with multi-coloured silk they paid homage to the body of the king." Div. A *tāvādādhumarstenābhihitam* (for *yāvad rādha*°), B —*nābhi*°. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 adds: "like the householder Sudatta". <sup>९</sup>Div. A *ṣannavāt*, B *ṣaṇṇuvayanta*. <sup>१०</sup>M8 & Div. *rājñā prati*°. Ch1 reads this and the following sentence thus: "The desire of the deceased king should be fulfilled by redeeming Jambudvīpa with four crores." <sup>११</sup>M8 & Div. °*yo*.

संपदिनो बृहस्पतिः<sup>१</sup> पुत्रो बृहस्पतेर्वृषसेनो<sup>२</sup> वृषसेनस्य<sup>३</sup> पुष्यधर्मा<sup>३</sup>  
पुष्यधर्मणः<sup>३</sup> पुष्यमित्रः । सोऽस्मात्यानामन्त्रयते । क उपायः स्याद् यद-  
स्माकं नाम चिरं तिष्ठेद् ।

तैरभिहितं<sup>४</sup> । देवस्य च वंशाद् अशोको नाम्ना राजा बभूवेति ।  
तेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>५</sup> । यावद् भगवच्छासनं  
प्राप्यते तावत् तस्य यशः स्थास्यति । देवोऽपि चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिका-  
सहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयतु<sup>६</sup> ।

राजाऽह । महेशाख्यो राजाऽशोको बभूव<sup>७</sup> । अन्यः कश्चिदुपाय  
इति । तस्य ब्राह्मणपुरोहितः पृथग्जनोऽश्राद्धः<sup>८</sup> । तेनाभिहितं । देव,  
द्वाभ्यां कारणाभ्यां नाम चिरं स्थास्यति । 'राज्ञाशोकेन चतुरशीति-  
धर्मराजिकासहस्रं स्थापितमतस्तस्य नाम चिरं तिष्ठति । भवांश्चेत्  
तानि नाशयेद् भवतो नाम चिरतरं स्थास्यतीति'<sup>९</sup> ।

यावद् राजा पुष्यमित्र<sup>१०</sup>श्चतुरङ्गवलकायं संनाहयित्वा भगवच्-<sup>११</sup>  
छासनं विनाशयिष्यामीति<sup>१२</sup> कुक्कुटारामं निर्गतः<sup>१३</sup> । द्वारे च सिंहनादो  
मुक्तः । यावत् स राजा भीतः पाटलिपुत्रं<sup>१४</sup> प्रविष्टः<sup>१५</sup> । एवं द्विरपि  
त्रिरपि<sup>१६</sup> । यावद् भिक्षूंश्च सङ्घमाहूय कथयति । भगवच्छासनं नाश-  
यिष्यामीति । किम् इच्छथ स्तूपं सङ्घारामान् वा<sup>१७</sup> । स्तूपाः<sup>१८</sup> भिक्षुभिः

<sup>१</sup>Div. *sampader vr°*. M8 °*pade vr°*. Ch1 reads: "Gr̥ha(pa)ti." Ch2:  
"Vr̥ha°." <sup>२</sup>M8 omits *vr̥ṣasen°*. Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads: "Vr̥ṣa°."  
<sup>३</sup>Ch1 "Puṣya(var)man." <sup>४</sup>Ch1 "One of them replied:" <sup>५</sup>Ch1  
adds: "and gave donation of one hundred crores of gold."  
<sup>६</sup>Ch1 adds: "and your name will last in this world for a long  
time." <sup>७</sup>Ch1 "My predecessor was quite powerful for realiz-  
ing such things. But how can I perform similar deeds?"  
<sup>८</sup>Ch1 "There was one adviser with perverse views (*mithyā-  
dṛṣṭi*)." M8 *tasya brāhmaṇaḥ purohitaḥ*. <sup>९-१०</sup>These sentences  
are wanting in Sanskrit. They are adopted from Ch. <sup>११</sup>Div. D &  
M8 °*mitra calu°*. <sup>१२-१३</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१३</sup>M8 *kurku°*. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 adds: "to  
burst open the doors of the monastery". <sup>१५</sup>Ch1 "He did not  
dare to enter into the monastery and returned." <sup>१६</sup>Ch1 "Thrice  
he reappeared thus but could not enter." <sup>१७</sup>Ch1 adds:  
*rakṣitūṃ*. M8 °*rāmāṃ vā*. <sup>१८</sup>Adopted from Chinese. M8 & Div.  
omit.

परिगृहीताः । यावत् पुष्यमित्रो यावत् सङ्घारामं [नाशयन्] भिक्षुंश्च<sup>१</sup>  
प्रघातयन् प्रस्थितः ।

स यावच् छाकलमनुप्राप्तः<sup>२</sup> । तेनाभिहितं<sup>३</sup> । यो मे श्रमण-  
शिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दोनारशतं<sup>४</sup> दास्यामि । [तत्र एकः] धर्मराजि-  
कावास्त्रं<sup>५</sup> ऋद्ध्या<sup>६</sup> शिरो दातुमारब्धः<sup>७</sup> । श्रुत्वा च राजाऽर्हन्तं<sup>८</sup>  
प्रघातयितुमारब्धः । स च निरोधं समापन्नः । तस्य परोपक्रमो न  
क्रमते<sup>९</sup> । स तं समुत्सृज्य यावत् कोष्ठकं गतः<sup>१०</sup> ।

दंष्ट्रानिवासी<sup>११</sup> यक्षश्चिन्तयति । इदं भगवच्छासनं विनश्यति ।  
अहं च शिक्षां धारयामि । न मया शक्यं कस्यचिदप्रियं कर्तुं<sup>१२</sup> । तस्य  
दुहिता कृमिशेन<sup>१३</sup> यक्षेण याच्यते । न चानुप्रयच्छति त्वं पापकर्म-  
कारोति । यावत् सा दुहिता तेन कृमिशस्य<sup>१४</sup> दत्ता । भगवच्छासन-  
परित्राणार्थं<sup>१५</sup> परिग्रहपरिपालनार्थं च<sup>१६</sup> ।

<sup>१७</sup>पुष्यमित्रस्य राज्ञः पृष्ठतो यक्षो महाप्रमाणोज्जुवद्भः<sup>१८</sup> । तस्यानु-  
भावात् स राजा न प्रतिहन्यते<sup>१९</sup> । यावद् दंष्ट्रानिवासी यक्षस्तं पुष्यं<sup>२०</sup>

<sup>१</sup>Div. D & M8 *bhikṣusū ca*. <sup>२</sup>Ch1 reads: "And applying these measures progressively upto the kingdom of Śākala, he proclaimed the following edict:" <sup>३</sup>Ch1 "a piece of gold (*dināra*)". <sup>४</sup>M8 & Div. omit *śya*. Ch1 "In that country, in a big *stūpa* (*i.e. dharmarājikā*) lived an Arhat." Ch2 "An Arhat who lived in the monastery of 'the king of the Law (*dharmarāja*).'" <sup>५</sup>M8 & Div. read: *vyddhyā*. <sup>६</sup>Div. AB *bdham*. Ch1 "By magic, he created many myriads of heads of Śramaṇa and told the inhabitants to take them to the king." <sup>७</sup>M8 & Div. *arhat*. <sup>८</sup>Ch1 "It was impossible to kill him." M8 *sa tat [sa]mutsṛjya*. Div. D *tan mutsṛ*. AB *yatnam utṣṛ*. <sup>९</sup>Ch1 adds: "with an intention to destroy the Law of Buddha". <sup>१०</sup>Ch1 "There was a demon (Ch2 *yakṣa*) who protected the Law (Ch2 "a tooth") of Buddha." <sup>११</sup>Ch1 adds: "How can I protect and maintain the Law of Buddha?" <sup>१२</sup>M8 *kṛṣiṣe*. D *miṣe*. Ch2 *kiliṣa. kilbiṣa?* <sup>१३</sup>Div. D & M8 *kṛmiṣa*. Ch2 *kiliṣa*. <sup>१४</sup>Ch1 "in the interest of the Law". Ch2 follows the text. <sup>१५-१६</sup>Ch1 omits. <sup>१७-१८</sup>Ch1 reads: "So in Koṣṭhaka the demons and the powerful spirits protected (the Law) and Puṣyamitra could not destroy it." Ch2 same as the text. <sup>१९</sup>M8 & Div. *mahān pṛmāṇe yūyam*. Ch2 "An extremely robust *yakṣa* protected king Puṣyamitra constantly."



मित्रानुवृद्धं<sup>१</sup> यक्षं<sup>२</sup> ग्रहाय<sup>३</sup> पर्वतचर्येऽचरत् । यावद्<sup>४</sup> दक्षिणं महासमुद्रं  
गतः । कृमिशेन<sup>५</sup> च यक्षेण महान्तं पर्वतमानयित्वा पुष्यमित्रो राजा  
सवलवाहनोऽवष्टब्धः । तस्य सुनिहित<sup>६</sup> इति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापिता<sup>७</sup> ।  
यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रघातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः<sup>८</sup> समुच्छिन्नः ।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदानेऽशोकावदानं समाप्तं ॥

<sup>१</sup>Div. & M8 °bandha°, D *grahāye*. <sup>२-३</sup>Ch2 omits these. It agrees fully with this paragraph of the text. <sup>१-३</sup>Ch1 reads: "Then the demons and the spirits of Bodhi seduced the guards of the king and carried them away to...". <sup>३</sup>Div. *dakṣiṇā*, M8 °ṇāni. <sup>४</sup>Ch2 *kiliṣ*°. Div. D & M8 *kṛmiśeṇa*. <sup>५</sup>M8 & Div. *muniyata*. Ch "deeply hidden". <sup>६</sup>M8 & Div. D °taḥ. <sup>७</sup>Ch1 *magadharāja-vamśaḥ*. Ch2 agrees. <sup>८</sup>Div. D °*triniśatitamah samāṃptaḥ*. M8 °*dānamālāyām aśokāvadānaṃ nāmādhyāyaḥ*.

## APPENDIX A

### THE LIFE OF AŚOKA BASED ON EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS

Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne.

H. G. Wells: *The Outline of History*, p. 247

Aśoka was the grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He was crowned in 270 B.C. Following the custom of the kings of ancient India, Aśoka held an epithet as *devānām priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā*<sup>1</sup>.

He was the son of Bindusāra. He had several brothers and sisters<sup>2</sup>, some of whom were residing with their families in the capital of Pāṭāliputra and others in the mufassil towns, during his reign. He had his *avarodhana* or closed female apartments both in the capital and in the provinces. He had more than one queen; one of them was named Cāruvākī who had a son named Tivara<sup>3</sup>. Aśoka had at least four sons who were Viceroys of Taxila, Ujjayini, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali<sup>4</sup>.

Before he became a devoted Buddhist, Aśoka like other ancient kings had the habit of entertaining his subjects with feasts and amusements. He used to hold *samājas* for public entertainment. The *samāja* was of two kinds. In one, people were entertained with dainty dishes abounding in meat. In the other, they were entertained with music, dancing, wrestling and the like. The *samājas* were intended to gratify the senses, the palate, the eye, and the ear of the people.

Both the kinds of *samājas* were celebrated by Aśoka until he began to preach the Dharma. Afterwards he prohibited those where animals were slaughtered to serve meat.

Aśoka himself confessed that slaughter of hundreds of thousands of animals (*prāṇa-śata-sahasrāṇi*) was going on every day in the royal kitchen (cf. Rock Edict I). This practice of doling out food consisting of meat to the subjects was very old and was going on till recently in the native states. This was a diplomatic policy of the kings to gain popularity among their subjects.

In the eighth year of his reign, circa 262 B.C., Aśoka conquered Kāliṅga (which roughly corresponds to the tract of land on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Vaitaraṇī and Languliya rivers). He has himself described the horrors and sufferings of the war. Even in such a small province as Kāliṅga, "one hundred and fifty thousand persons were deported, one hundred thousand were killed, and many times that number died." (cf. Rock Edict XIII).

About a year after this war, Aśoka embraced Buddhism. The thought of this war overwhelmed him with deep and sincere repentance.

When a territory is conquered, it remains for some time in an unsettled condition. The officers in charge of administration and maintenance of peace often go beyond the limits of justice and mercy. Such acts of injustice and ruthlessness were actually witnessed in Kāliṅga. It is known from one of the inscriptions, how severely Aśoka chastised his officials and what steps he took to prevent such excesses in future.

<sup>1</sup> This is the full appellation or epithet found in Aśoka's inscriptions, which is sometimes shortened into: *devānām priyaḥ*, or *priyadarśī rājā* (or *rājā priyadarśī*) or simply *priyadarśī*. The Gujjara version, of the minor Rock Edict calls him: *devānām priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā śokaḥ*, while the Maski version of the same edict calls him: *devānām priyo śokaḥ*.

Once he is called: *priyadarśī rājā māgadhaḥ* (Bairat Buddhist Text Edict); cf. *Aśoka's Edicts*, by Dr. A. C. Sen, 1956.

<sup>2</sup> In Rock Edict 5, we find the following statement of Aśoka: "In the female apartments of my brothers and sisters, here and in all the towns in the provinces...."

This denotes he had several brothers who were residing with their families in the capital and other towns of the empire. Prejudiced by the fables that are found both in Pali and Sanskrit, some scholars argue that because there is mention of (Aśoka's) brothers' families and not of brothers, Aśoka must have killed his brothers before he came to the throne.

<sup>3</sup> Allahabad Pillar Queen's Gifts Edict.

<sup>4</sup> Separate Kāliṅga Rock Edicts

For some time after his conversion to Buddhism he remained indifferent. Afterwards he exerted himself with his whole heart for the diffusion of Dharma. The idea of a Cakravartī Dhārmikā Dharmarāja<sup>1</sup>, the supreme ruler of the earth, not by conquest but by righteousness, possessed his mind. This ideal inspired him to promote the material and spiritual well-being, not only of his own subjects, but also those of his neighbouring independent kings. These acts of welfare were not restricted within the sphere of human life. They were for all sentient beings.

How did he put this ideal into practice? What means and methods did he adopt to achieve his vision? It is described by Aśoka himself:

"This occurred to me: In times past, kings had wished that men should grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma. But men did not grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma (Dharma)... How may men grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma?... The same (object) being in view Dhamma proclamations were caused to be announced by me (and) manifold Dhamma instructions were ordered, so that (my) officers too, who are occupied among many people would advocate and explain them in detail.

The Rajjukas<sup>2</sup> too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people. They too were ordered by me (thus)—'In such and such manner, exhort ye the people, being (yourselves) devoted to the Dhamma.'

Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dhamma Pillars, appointed the Dhamma-Mahāmātras (Dharma-Mahāmātras) (and) announced Dhamma proclamations.

On the roads I have planted banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight kosas and I have had resthouses built. I have made many watering sheds at different places, for enjoyment of man and beast. This (provision of enjoyment is indeed a trifle, because mankind has been blessed with man (such) blessings by the previous kings as well as by me. But I have done this with the intent that men may follow the practices of Dhamma."—Pillar Edict VII

The Dharma-Mahāmātras had the duty to look after the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the people. One of the most important duties of these officers was to see that all sects live peacefully without any conflict among themselves for their different views. They were to direct the attention of the various sects to what was essential in the Dhamma.

Aśoka wished all sects, the Brāhmanas, the Buddhists, the Ājivikas, the Nirgranthas, etc. to flourish in his empire. He bestowed charities on all of them.

There was another duty assigned to these Dharma-Mahāmātras. It was the distribution of charities. Aśoka said:

"These (Dharma<sup>3</sup>) and many other head officials are employed in the distribution of bounties, both my own and those of the queens, and all my gynaeceurs... And I have arranged that they shall be occupied with the distribution of the bounties of my sons and other sons of the queens..." Cf. Pillar Edict VII

Another method that Aśoka adopted for the propagation of the Dharma is that he commanded all the *mufassil* officials of the highest grade to go out on circuit tour: to give instruction on the Dharma to the people, besides the discharge of their official duties. So we see that his District Officers of the superior grade were officers as well as teachers. It was a novel idea, and doubtlessly it was Aśoka who was the first king to find out the most successful way for the propagation of the Dharma.

Now what instructions on the Dharma were they to give to the people? There were the ethical practices, the common ground of all sects that were to be caused to be heard by the people. (*dhamma-sāna*). Cf. Pillar Edicts II, III, VII; Rock Edicts III-IV, IX, XI.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. i. 82; A. i. 109-10, iii. 149-51.

<sup>2</sup> The Rajjukas were probably the governors of districts. Cf. Dr. D. C. Sircar.

As we have seen, Aśoka strove not only for the spiritual well-being, but also for the material welfare of all creatures. For this, first of all, he banned wanton destruction of life. He attempted to check and ultimately stopped altogether the old custom of doling out meat daily to his subjects and saved the lives of innumerable helpless mute creatures.

So, the first step was to protect life and the second to promote the physical welfare of all creatures. This was achieved by his charities. Aśoka made curative arrangements (hospitals) both for human beings and for animals (260-58 B.C.) He said: "Where medical herbs, wholesome for man and wholesome for animal are not found, they have everywhere been imported and planted." Cf. Rock Edict II.

This he did, not only in his own empire but also in the neighbouring and distant states.

The department of the Dharma<sup>51</sup> under Aśoka sent out officers or religious ambassadors to foreign states both in the North and South, to the neighbouring and distant states of Antiochus II, Theos (261-246 B.C.) of Syria or Greek king of Western Asia as well as the four kings, Ptolemy II, (285-247 B.C.) Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus, Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) of Macedonia, Magas (282-258 B.C. or 300-250 B.C.) of Cyrene in North Africa, Alexander of Epirus (272-255 B.C.) or of Corinth (252-244 B.C.) and lower down in the South the Coḷas (or Coḷas) and the Pāṇḍyas, as far as the Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon). Cf. Rock Edict XIII.

Aśoka was not satisfied by inscribing messages on rocks or pillars or sending missionaries; he personally moved among his people preaching to them, discussing with them and holding religious conferences. This he called his religious tour (*dharmayātrā*). He substituted this for the ancient pleasure trip (*vihārayātrā*) of the kings. This he prohibited.

Aśoka began his pilgrimages in 260 B.C., when he went to the place of Enlightenment (*sambodhi*) of Buddha. It was followed by many of its kind.

In the twentieth year of his reign (coronation), Aśoka visited the birth-place of Buddha. To pay his respect to the Blessed One, he exempted the village of Lumbini from all religious cess. The village was to pay only one-eighth of its produce as land revenue.

Aśoka reigned at least for twenty-eight years, for the seventh Pillar Edict was published in 243-42 B.C. in the 28th year of his reign. According to the concurrent statements of the Brāhmana and the Buddhist writers, he reigned for thirty-seven years. If this is accepted as a fact, then the close of his reign or death took place in about 232 B.C.

Aśoka had an empire extending from Afghanistan to Mysore. In the East it included Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal. Territories that are now outside India and Pakistan were parts of the Indian empire which he inherited from his grandfather Chandragupta and father Bindusāra. He annexed Kalinga to this. The extent of his empire may be known from the geographical distribution of his Rock and Pillar Edicts. The former are found in the following places: (1) Shāhbāzgarhī, near Peshawar; (2) Mānsehrā in the Hazara district, W. Pakistan; (3) Kālsī, near Dehra Dun; (4) Sopārā, in Thānā district, near Bombay; (5) Girnār, near Junāgarh in Kathiawar; (6) Dhauli, in Puri district, near Bhuvaneśwar; (7) Jaugaḍa, on the Rṣikulya river in Ganjam district of Orissa; (8) Yerrāguḍi in Kurnool district, Andhra State; (9) Chitaldroog in Mysore, where Minor Rock Edicts appear in the hills on the Chinna Haggari river at three different localities; (10) Rūpnāth, near Jubbulpur where appears only the Minor Rock Edict I; (11) Sahasrām in Bihar with Minor Rock Edict I only; (12) Bairāt near Jaipur, Rajasthan

<sup>51</sup>The Dharma<sup>51</sup> were appointed to spread the Dha°, mitigate the wrongs or rigours of justice, administer the charities of the king and the royal family, supervise the morals of their harems and superintend the affairs conducted by the committees or councils (*Parīṣads*) governing different sects, Buddhist, Jain, Ajīvikas and others. *vide Aśoka*, by Radhakumud Mookerji, 2nd rev. ed., 1955, pp. 31-32.

showing only M.R.E. I; (13) Bhābru, with its special Edict which originally appeared on a second hill at Bairāt; (13) Maskī, showing M.R.E. I only, in the Hyderabad State; (14) Gavimath as also; (15) Pālkigundu, in Koppal Taluk (about 4 miles from Gavimath), Hyderabad state; (16) Yerrāguḍi (8 miles from Gooty Ry. Station, S. India) where appears also one M.R.E.; (17) Laghman in Jalabad district of Afghanistan where is an inscription in Aramaic script; (18) Taxila where also is found an Aramaic inscription: the Pillars bearing the Edicts stood at (1) Toprā, near Ambala; (2) Meerut, both of which were taken to Delhi by Sultan Firoz Toghlak (1351-88 A.D.); (3) Kauśāmbī, removed to Allahabad where are Pillar Edicts (I-VI), the Queen's Edict and Kauśāmbī Edict; (4) Lauriyā Ararāj (Rādhia); (5) Lauriyā-Nandangarh (Mathia); (6) Rāmpūrvā all three in Champaran district; (7) Sānchī, near Bhopal (M.P.E.); (8) Sārānāth (M.P.E.); (9) Rummīndī in Nepal; (10) Nigliva, in Nepalese Tarai.

*Vide Aśoka*, by R. K. Mookerji & D. R. Bhandarkar.

### A CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF AŚOKA'S REIGN

- 270 B. C. Coronation
- 262 B. C. Conquest of Kaliṅga
- 261-60 B. C. Conversion to Buddhism
- 260 B. C. Issue of Minor Rock Edict I, and first "pious tour" to Bodhi Gaya. (R. E. VIII)
- 259 B. C. Issue of the two Kaliṅga (Separate) Edicts
- 258-57 B. C. Issue of the Fourteen Rock Edicts in one corpus; grant of cave-dwellings in the Barabār Hills to the Ājivikas
- 257 B. C. Institution of officers called Dharma-Mahāmātras (R.E. V)
- 256 B. C. Double enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Kon(ṇ)āgamana
- 250 B. C. Pilgrimage to Lumbini Garden, the birth-place of Buddha; visit to the Stūpa of Buddha Konāgamana and erection of commemorative pillars at both places
- 243-2 B. C. Issue of Pillar Edicts
- 232 B. C. Death of Aśoka

The fourteen Rock Edicts show that the following measures were passed before the date of the Edicts, and so they date between 260-258 B.C.:

1. Abolition of
  - (a) Sacrificial slaughter of animals in the capital
  - (b) *Samūjas* (merry-making of a kind, accompanied by animal fights, feasting with consumption of meat etc.)
  - (c) Slaughter of animals for the royal table, except two peacocks and one antelope (R.E. I)
  - (d) "Tours of pleasure" accompanied by "hunting and other similar amusements" (R.E. VIII)
  - (e) War (R.E. IV) and conquest (R.E. XIII)
2. Provision of public works of utility, *viz*:
  - (a) Hospitals for man and beast
  - (b) Botanical gardens for the culture of medicinal plants, indigenous and foreign (obtained by import), including "herbs, roots and fruits"
  - (c) Wells and trees on the roads for the comforts of travellers and animals (R.E. II)
3. Supply of medical aid and facilities for both man and beast in foreign countries (those of Antiochu; and even of his neighbours) and in countries on the borders (R.E. II)
4. Organisation of Missionary work in foreign countries, which were

- objects not of his political or military but religious conquests (*dharmavijaya*) achieved by his missionaries (*dūtas*) (R. E. XIII)
5. Institution of Quinquennial Circuits of Officers for missionary, as well as administrative work (R.E. III), which afterwards leads to:
  6. Creation of a new and separate department of Missionary Service under officers styled Dharma-Mahāmātras—Ministers of Religion or Morals, for propagation of piety among his subjects (including royal relations, male and female), as also among foreign peoples (R. E. V)
  7. Institution of a new and separate set of officers called the *Strī-Adhyakṣa-Mahāmātras* (Ministers in charge of (the superintendents of?) women) for the purpose of supervising female morals (R.E. XII)
  8. Institution of the king's own 'Pious tours' among his people, accompanied by royal gifts for ascetics, Brāhmaṇas, men disabled by age; and the holding of religious conferences for preaching and discussing the moral law (R.E. VIII)
  9. Organization of religious shows and processions (R.E. IV)

### A CHRONOLOGY FROM THE LEGENDS

304 B. C. Birth of Aśoka

286 B. C. Aśoka sent by his father as his Viceroy from Pātaliputra to Ujjayinī at the age of eighteen. (*Mahāvamsa*. xiii. 8-11)

286 B. C. Aśoka's marriage with Devī of Vedisā (Besnagar, Bhilsa, *Ibid.*)

284 B. C. Birth of Aśoka's eldest son Mahendra (*Ibid.* xiii. 10)

282 B. C. Birth of his eldest daughter Saṅghamitrā (*Ibid.* xiii. 11)

274 B. C.

(i) War of succession

(ii) Death of the crown-prince Sumana

(iii) Aśoka's accession to the throne

(iv) Birth of Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha (*Ibid.* v. 40-3)

270 B. C. Aśoka's Coronation (*Ibid.* v. 22.)

270-66 B. C. Aśoka's younger brother Tissa, as his Vice-Regent (*uparāja*) (*Ibid.* v. 33)

270-40 B. C. Asandhimitrā as Aśoka's *agramahiṣī* (*Ibid.* v. 85; xx. 2)

268 B. C. Saṅghamitrā married to Agnibrahmā (*Ibid.* v. 169)

267 B. C. Birth of Aśoka's grandson Sumana, son of Saṅgha° (*Ibid.* v. 170)

266 B. C.

(i) Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism by Nigrodha who was then only seven years old (*Ibid.* v. 44-68)

(ii) Aśoka converts his brother Tissa, his Vice-Regent, to Buddhism (*Ibid.* v. 160)

(iii) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammarakkhita (*Ibid.* v. 167)

(iv) Agnibrahmā, nephew and son-in-law of Aśoka ordained (*Ibid.* v. 169)

(v) Appointment of Mahendra at the age of eighteen as Vice-Regent in place of Tissa (*Ibid.* v. 202)

265-63 B.C. Building of *Vihāras* and *Caityas* by Aśoka (*Ibid.* v. 173-5; *Aśokāvadāna*, pp. 55, 56, 79, 83, 87, 105, 126.)

264 B. C.

(i) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, with Majjhantika as President of the Chapter performing the *Kammavācaṃ*: second ordination of Mahendra by Moggaliputta Tissa as his *upādhyāya*

(ii) Ordination of Saṅgha° by her *ācāryā* Āyupālā and *upādhyāyā* Dhammapālā (*Mahāvamsa*, v. 204-9)

(iii) Promotion of Aśoka from the status of *pacceyadāyaka* to that of a *sāsanaḍḍiyāda* (*Ibid.* v. 197)

- 263 B. C. Birth of Kuṇāla, son of Padmāvati (*Aśoka*<sup>o</sup>, p. 105)
- 262 B. C. Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by increase in the number of undesirable members in the Saṅgha and the consequent retirement of Moggaliputta Tissa (*Mahāv.*<sup>o</sup>, v. 226-33)
- 262-254 B. C. The Saṅgha under the leadership of Mahendra; recall by Aśoka of Moggaliputta Tissa who taught him the doctrine of the Sambuddha; meeting of the Saṅgha under him and expulsion of heretical monks by Aśoka. (*Ibid.*, v. 232-74; cf. Sānchī and Sārṇāth Pillar Edicts)
- 260-50 B. C. Possible period of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places which followed his completion of the *dharmarājikās* according to *Aśokāvadāna*, pp. 81-87 which states that Aśoka was taken by his preceptor Upagupta first to Lumbinī Vana and afterwards to Bodhimīla. R. E. VIII refers to Aśoka's visit to Sambodhi in 260 B.C. and the Rummidei Pillar Edict to his visit to Lumbinī in 250 B.C.
- 253 B. C. Meeting of the third Buddhist council under Moggaliputta Tissa and despatch by him of missionaries to different countries (*Mahāv.*<sup>o</sup>, xii. 1-8)
- 252 B. C. Mahendra on way to Ceylon visits his mother Devi at Vedisā (*Ibid.*, xiii. 8-11) when he had been twelve years a monk
- 240 B. C. Death of Asandhimitrā, "the dear consort of Aśoka and faithful believer in the Sambuddha" (*Ibid.*, xx. 2)
- 236 B. C. Tiṣyarakṣitā raised to the rank of chief queen (*Ibid.*, xx. 3; also *Aśoka*<sup>o</sup>, p. 107 where she is mentioned as Aśoka's *agryamahīsi*)
- 235 B. C. Kuṇāla sent out as Viceroy to Taxila, then in revolt (*Aśokāvadāna* p. 109)
- 233 B. C. Tiṣya's jealousy against the Bodhi-tree which she tries to destroy (*Mahāv.*<sup>o</sup>, xx. 4-6; *Aśoka*<sup>o</sup>, p. 93)
- 232 B. C. Death of Aśoka in the 38th year of his reign (*Mahāv.*<sup>o</sup>, xx. 6).  
*Vide Aśoka*, by R. K. Mookerji, pp. 37-46



## APPENDIX B

### AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS

The records of Aśoka are remarkable for their homely diction in prose. It follows a law of rhythms and cadence of its own and combines sincerity of purpose with dignity of expression. It is enlivened throughout by the noblest sentiment of a well-meaning heart, and vivid with the grandest vision of a righteous world of ceaseless activity promoting the cause of piety and promising the attainment of the desired object here and of a grand heaven hereafter. It conveys the lofty message of an enlightened seer of eternal good and happiness, and serves as a fitting vehicle of sparkling thoughts of a highly sensitive and practical mind. Its pathos is well-suited to its theme, and its appeal goes direct into the heart. The epigraphs read as so many autobiographical sketches of Aśoka. In going through them one is apt to feel that they were written either to his dictation or, at any rate, under his direction. Thus they are intended to reproduce and preserve the very words of the Maurya emperor.

## PILLAR EDICT VII

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

The kings who were in times past, desired thus, (*viz.*) that the people might progress by the promotion of Dharma.

But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

This occurred to me—

In times past kings also desired thus, (*viz.*) that the people might progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

Now, by what means could the people (be induced to) follow (Dharma), by what means could the people (be made to) progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma, (and) by what means could I elevate them by the promotion of Dharma?

On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

This occurred to me—

I shall cause Dharma proclamations to be announced, (and) shall order Dharma instructions (to be issued).

Hearing these, the people will follow (Dharma), will elevate themselves, and will progress considerably by the promotion of Dharma.

For this purpose, Dharma proclamations were announced by me, (and) manifold Dharma instructions were ordered, in order that (my) officers too, who are occupied among many people, should advocate as well explain them in detail.

The Rajjukas too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people.

They too were ordered by me (thus)—“in such and such manner exhort the people, being (yourselves) devoted to Dharma.”

The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dharma pillars, appointed Dharma-Mahāmātras, (and) announced Dharma proclamations.

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

Banyan trees were caused to be planted by me on the roadside (in order that) they should provide shade for animals and men (and) mango-groves were caused to be planted also.

At interval of eight *krośas*, wells were caused to be dug by me and rest-houses were caused to be built, (and) numerous drinking-places were caused to be constructed by me at various places for the use of animals and men.

But of little avail are these utilities.

With various comforts indeed the people were made happy by former kings as well as by me.

‘Let them follow these Dharma practices’—for this purpose were these done by me.

The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin spoke thus:

They, my Dharma-Mahāmātras too are occupied with various kinds of beneficent objects, and they are also occupied among all the sects of ascetics as well as among householders.

Concerning the affairs of the Saṅgha too, (this) has been ordered by me—‘They (the Dharma-Mahāmātras) shall be occupied.’

Likewise concerning the Brāhmanas (and) the Ājīvikas too, (this) has been ordered by me—‘They shall be occupied.’

Concerning the Nirgranthas too, (this) has been ordered by me—‘They shall be occupied.’

Concerning various (other) sects too, (this) has been ordered by me—‘They shall be occupied—different Mahāmātras for the particular affairs of different sects.’

And my Dharma-Mahāmātras are occupied with these (sects) as well as with all the other sects.

another's sect, all through attachment to one's own sect.—Why?—In order that one may illuminate one's own sect. In reality by so doing one injures, more assuredly, one's own sect. Concourse is therefore commendable,—why?—In order that they may hear and desire to hear (further) one another's Dharma. For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods,—What?—That all sects shall be well informed and conducive of good. And those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed: "The Beloved of the gods does not so much think of gifts or honour as—What?—As that there may be growth of the essential among all sects and also mutual appreciation". For his end are engaged the Dharma-Mahāmātras, Superintendents of women, the Vrajabhūmikas and other bodies (of officials). And this is its fruit—the exaltation of one's own sect and the illumination of Dhamma.

### BARĀBAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS<sup>1</sup>

- A—This Banyan cave was given to the Ājivikas by King Priyadarśin when he had been anointed twelve years.  
 B—This cave in the Khalatika Hill was given to the Ājivikas, when he had been anointed twelve years.  
 C—When the king Priyadarśin was anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Khalatika hill was given by me to the Ājivikas, for the sake of (shelter from) the approach of roar of waters (*i.e.* rain-water).<sup>2</sup>

### SEPARATE KALINGA ROCK EDICT I

(No. XV)

The Mahāmātras of Tosali who are the judicial officers of the city, are addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the gods.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out by deeds and accomplish it by proper means. And I consider the following to be the principal means to this end, *viz.* to impart instructions to you. For you are laced by me over many thousands of beings with the object that we may gain affection of all men.

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men. But you do not understand how far my intention goes in this respect. A few amongst you perchance understand it: but even such of you understand it partly and not fully. Howsoever well-placed you may be, you have to pay attention to this matter.

In the administration of justice, it sometimes happens that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In such cases, a person may accidentally obtain an order cancelling his imprisonment, while many other persons in the same condition continue to suffer for a long time. In such a circumstance, you should desire to deal with all of them impartially.

But an officer fails to act impartially owing to the following dispositions, *viz.* jealousy, anger, cruelty, hastiness, want of perseverance, laziness and fatigue. Therefore you should desire that these dispositions may not be yours.

<sup>1</sup> These three inscriptions are found in different caves of the Barābar hill in Bihar, 15 miles north of Gaya and 8 miles from Bela station on the Patna-Gaya rail-line.

<sup>2</sup> The third was possibly caused to be engraved not by Asoka himself but by an anonymous donor. The real donor might probably have been Asoka's mother, or one of his queens or one of his sons or grandsons.

And the root of the complete success of an officer lies in the absence of anger and avoidance of hastiness. In the matter of the administration of justice, an officer does not get up for work if he is fatigued; but he has to move, to walk and to advance. Whoever amongst you pays attention to this, should tell other officers: 'Pay attention to nothing except the duties assigned to you by the king. Such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the gods.' The observance of this duty will produce great results for you; non-observance will produce great harm . . .

## SEPARATE KALIṄGA ROCK EDICT II

(No. XVI)

Thus saith the Beloved of the gods.

The following royal order must be addressed to the Mahāmātras stationed at Samāpā.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out . . .

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided by me with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire in respect of all men.

The following question may occur to the people of the unconquered territories lying beyond the borders of my dominions: 'What is the king's desire in respect of us?' The following alone is my wish. It should be realized by the peoples living on the borders, *viz.* that the king desires that they should be unworried on his account, that they should have confidence in him, and that they should expect from him only happiness and no misery. The following also should be realized by them, *viz.* that the king will forgive them in respect of any offence that is pardonable. My desire is that they should practise the duties associated with Dharma for my sake and that they should attain happiness in this world as well as in the next.

Now, I instruct you for the following purpose, *viz.* that I may free myself from the debt I owe to the people inhabiting the lands beyond the borders of my dominions by having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow.

Therefore, acting accordingly, you should perform your duties. You should also inspire the people of the bordering lands with confidence in me, so that they might realize that the king is to them even as their father, that he sympathises with them even as he sympathises with his own self, and that they are to the king even as his own children. . . .

Having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow, I feel that my appeal to you in this respect will be known to the people of the whole country. Indeed you are capable of inspiring them with confidence in me and securing their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. And, by so doing, you will attain heaven and discharge the debt you owe to me.

So this record has been written here on stone for the following purpose, *viz.* that the Mahāmātras should strive to do their duty at all times in order to inspire the people living on the borders of my dominions with confidence in me and to induce them to practise the duties associated with Dharma. . . .

## ROCK EDICT XIII

. . . And the conquest considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the gods, is the conquest through Dhamma. And that again has been achieved by the Beloved of the gods here and in the bordering dominions, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where (dwell) the Yona king called Antiyoga (Antiochus II) and, beyond this Antiyoga, the four kings called

Turamaya, Amtekina, Maga, and Alikasu(m)dara,<sup>1</sup>—(likewise) down below, where are the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, as far as the Tāmraparṇīyas—likewise here in the king's dominions among the Yavanas and Kambojas, the Nābhakas and the Nābhapaṁtis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Andhras and Pārimdras, everywhere they follow the teachings of the Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhamma. Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the gods do not go, they, bearing the message of Dhamma, the ordinances, and the instructions in Dhamma by the Beloved of the gods, practise Dhamma and will so practise. And the conquest which is thereby achieved, everywhere becomes a conquest flavoured with love. That love has been attained (by me) in the conquest through Dhamma. A petty thing however, is that love. That which concerns the next world, the Beloved of the gods esteems, as alone bearing great fruit. And this edict of Dhamma is engraved for this purpose—Why?—In order that whosoever may be, my sons and great grandsons, may not think of new conquest as worth achieving, that in regard to a conquest, possible only through (the use) of arrows, they may prefer forbearance and lightness of punishment, and that they may regard that to be the (real) conquest which is a conquest through Dhamma. That is good for here and hereafter . . .”

### ROCK EDICT I

This Dharma-rescript has been caused to be written by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Here (in my dominion) no living beings are to be killed and offered in sacrifice.

And no festive gatherings (*samājūh*) are to be held. The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin sees much evil in festive gatherings. But there are festive gatherings of some kinds too which are approved by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Formerly in the kitchen of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, many hundred thousands of animals were killed every day for the sake of curry. But now when this Dharma-rescript is written, only three animals are being killed (everyday) for the sake of curry, (*viz.*) two peacocks (and) one deer, (and) the deer again, not always. Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

### ROCK EDICT II

Everywhere in the dominion of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin and likewise among (his) Borderers, such as the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, up to Tāmraparṇī, the Yona king Am̐tiyoka, and also those kings who are the neighbours of that Am̐tiyoka—everywhere (provision) has been made by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (for) two (kinds of) medical treatment, (*viz.*) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

<sup>1</sup> Am̐tiyoka is Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.), king of Syria and Turamaya, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247). Amtekina or Antikini corresponds to the Greek Antigenus rather than Antigonus. But as no king named Antigenus is known, Amtekini has been identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239). Maga is Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-c. 250). There is some doubt about Alikasum̐dara who, according to some, was Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) and according to others, Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244). In Rock Edict II, Antiochus alone is mentioned and the other princes referred to as his *sāmantas* or bordering kings. There is no doubt that of these Greek princes Antiochus alone had his dominions conterminous with those of Aśoka. We also know that there had been friendly relations and dispatch of embassies between the Seleukidan and Mauryan dynasties since the time of Chandragupta.

And wherever there are no (medicinal) herbs that are suitable for men and suitable for animals, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And wherever there are no (medicinal) roots and fruits, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And on the roads, wells have been caused to be dug and trees have been caused to be planted, for the use of animals and men.

### NĪGLIVĀ (NIGĀLĪSĀGAR) PILLAR INSCRIPTION

The beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (when) crowned fourteen years enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni (Konāgamana)<sup>1</sup> to double (former size) And (when) crowned (twenty) years, himself came (here) worshipped (and a stone-pillar) was erected.

### ROCK EDICT VI

. . . At all times (whether) I am eating (or I am) in the female apartments (or) in the bed-chamber or in the chariot or in the palanquin or in the parks, everywhere Reporters have been posted (with the instructions)—'Report to me the affairs of the people,' and everywhere I dispose of the affairs of the people . . .

I am never content with exerting (myself) or with the dispatch of business. The welfare of all the people is considered by me as (my) duty indeed. And the root of that again (is) this (*viz.*) exertion and dispatch of business.

There is indeed no better work than the welfare of all the people. And whatever efforts I am making are in order that I may discharge (my) debts to (all) beings, that I may make them happy here (in this life) and that they may attain heaven in the next (life).

### PILLAR EDICT II

(The Dharma that Priyadarśin preached)

. . . But what constitutes Dharma ?

(These constitute Dharma, *viz.*)—little sin, many good deeds, mercifulness, charity, truthfulness (and) purity . . .

### PILLAR EDICT III

. . . There are called the ways to sin, *viz.*—fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride (and) envy . . .

### ROCK EDICT III

. . . Everywhere in my dominion, the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas shall go out on tour every five years for this special purpose (*viz.*) for these Dharma instructions—as also for other business—

Commendable is respectfulness towards mother and father; gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas are commendable; non-killing of animals is commendable; moderation in spending (and) moderation in (owning) possessions are commendable . . .

<sup>1</sup> Seven Buddhas are mentioned in the earlier texts and frequently referred to (comp. the seven R̥s̥ of the Vedic period). They are (i) Vipassī (ii) Sikkī (iii) Vesabhū (iv) Kakusandha (v) Konāgamana (vi) Kassapa (vii) Gotama. Cf. D. II. 2-7; S. II. 5-11; Comp. *Thera*, 4:0-1; J. II. 147.

## ROCK EDICT IV

. . . The non-killing of animals, non-injury to living beings, proper behaviour towards relatives, proper behaviour towards Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas, respectfulness towards mother (and) father (and) respectfulness towards the aged.

These and many other kinds of Dharma practices have increased, and the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, will ever (continue to) promote this practice of Dharma . . .

## ROCK EDICT IX

. . . Women perform manifold and various kinds of petty and meaningless auspicious ceremonies.

Now, auspicious ceremonies should certainly be performed, but of little fruit indeed are auspicious ceremonies such as these.

But of great fruit is this auspicious ceremony, *viz.* the auspicious ceremony of Dharma. In it these (are contained)—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable deference towards elders; commendable gentleness towards animals; commendable gifts to the Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas—these and similar other (virtues) are called the auspicious ceremonies of Dharma . . .

## ROCK EDICT XI

. . . There is no gift like the gift of Dharma, or acquaintance through Dharma, or the distribution of Dharma, or kinship through Dharma.

Therein these take place—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable respectfulness towards mother (and) father; commendable gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas; commendable non-killing of animals . . .

## ROCK EDICT VII

(Aśoka's impartiality towards all religious sects)

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin desires that all sects should reside everywhere (for) all of them wish (to acquire) self-control and purity of mind.

But men are of various temperaments and of various preferences (and) they will perform the whole, or they will perform (only) a part (of their duties).

But in spite of (receiving) large gifts, those who have no self-control, or purity of mind, or gratitude and firm devotion, are mean indeed.

## PILLAR EDICT VI

. . . To the welfare and happiness of people, I direct (my) attention.

As (I do) this regarding (my) relatives, likewise (I do) regarding those who are near (and) likewise regarding those who are far away (thinking) 'How can I bring them happiness,' and I act accordingly.

In the same manner, I direct my attention to all classes (of the people).

All the (religious) sects too have been honoured by me with various (kinds of) honours . . .

See also Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict XII and Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions quoted above.

## BAIRĀṬ BUDDHIST TEXT EDICT

King Priyadarśin, the Māgadha, having saluted the Saṅgha said:  
(I wish you) good health and happy living.

It is known to you, Sirs, how great are my reverence for and faith in Buddha, Dharma (and) the Saṅgha.

Whatever, Sirs, has been spoken by the Blessed Buddha, all that is well-spoken indeed.

And, Sirs, what would appear to me as 'Thus will the true Dharma be of long duration'—that I may be permitted to speak of.

These Dharma texts, Sirs, (*viz.*)—the *Vinaya-samutkarṣa*<sup>1</sup>, the *Ārya-vāsa*<sup>2</sup> the *Anāgata-bhaya*<sup>3</sup>, the *Muni-gāthā*<sup>4</sup>, the *Mauneya-sūtra*<sup>5</sup>, the *Upatisya-praśna*<sup>6</sup> and the *Rāhulāvāda*<sup>7</sup> which was spoken by the Blessed Buddha concerning false speech—these Dharma texts, Sirs, I desire that most (of the) monks and nuns may constantly listen to and remember.

Likewise lay men and lay women too.

For this (purpose), Sirs, I am causing this to be written, that the Venerable Ones may know my intention.

THE GREEK VERSION OF THE KANDAHAR  
BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF AŚOKA<sup>8</sup>

An inscription of exceptional documentary interest, discovered in the surroundings of the ancient site of Kandahar, East of Persia and Bactria, has been recently published by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East: G. Pugliese Carratelli has edited the Greek part and G. Levi Della Vida the Aramaic text intermingled with Iranianisms<sup>9</sup>. It is a proclamation addressed to all mankind, which in a general way can be compared to the other Indian decrees of Aśoka, the Maurya king called Piadassi ("the friendly-looking"), who was contemporary to Antiochus II, Antiochus Gonata, Alexander I of Epirus, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt<sup>10</sup>.

The first news of the discovery was given by U. Scerrato in "East & West"<sup>11</sup>. Shortly after the same review the IsMEO published a paper by Fr. Altheim and Ruth Stichl<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya-samukase—Vinaya-samukkansa*—"select passages from the Vinaya," cf. *Atharvasa-vagga* in the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, I. 98-100.

<sup>2</sup> *Āliya-tasāni—Āriya-vāsā (dasa)* "The excellent state of mind," *Digha-Nikāya*, III. 269, 291; *Āṅguttara*<sup>o</sup>, V. 29. \*

<sup>3</sup> *Anāgata-bhayaṇi (pañca)*, *Āṅguttara*<sup>o</sup>, III. 100-10.

<sup>4</sup> *Muni-gāthā—Muni-sutta*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, I. 12 (*sutta*).

<sup>5</sup> *Moneya-sūte—Nālaka-sutta*, *Ibid.*, III. 11 (*sutta*). †

<sup>6</sup> *Upatisya-pasine—Sāriputta-sutta*, "What Upatissa (Sāriputta) asked," *Ibid.*, IV. 16. §

<sup>7</sup> *Lāghulovāde—Rāhulovāda*. "Instruction to Rāhula (son of Gautama)" cf. *Ambalathika-Rāhulovāda-sutta*, *Majjhima*<sup>o</sup>, I. 414-20.

<sup>8</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar: *Āriya-tasāna*, *Āṅguttara*<sup>o</sup>, II. 27

† A. C. Sen: *Moneya-sutta (Āpāyikavagga. 2)*, *Āṅguttara*<sup>o</sup>, I. 273

§ Bhandarkar: *Rathavināta-sutta*, *Majjhima*<sup>o</sup>, I. 145-51

<sup>9</sup> Quoted from an article by Carlo Gallovoiti. Vide *East and West*, IsMEO, Rome, New Series, Vol. 10. No. 3, September 1959, pp. 185-189.

<sup>10</sup> *Un editto bilingue preo-aramaico di Aśoka*, with a preface by G. Tucci and an introduction by U. Scerrato, "IsMEO" Rome, 1958, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> See the Edict XIII in J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris 1950, and the commentary of G. Pugliese in "Par. d. Pass.", 1953, 449 ff.

<sup>12</sup> vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, 1958, pp. 4-6.

<sup>13</sup> *The Aramaic version of the Kandahar bilingual inscription of Aśoka*, *ibid.*, pp. 192-3.



Quite independently of the Italian works, a full commentary on this inscription was made by another group of eminent scholars for the "Société Asiatique" of Paris: D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste<sup>1</sup>.

Such a great amount of interesting study shows how important this discovery is because of the information supplied by it and the problems which arise from it. The enthusiastic eagerness of the scholars has rapidly led to a thorough explanation of the document from the topographical, linguistic, epigraphical and especially historical point of view. Interesting deductions can be made for what concerns the Hellenization of this farthest part of Arachosia, following the times of Alexander the Great, and the ethnographic and linguistic conditions of the Indian Empire in this Western outpost, stretching into the Iranian area, after the treaty signed by Seleucus I and Sandrakottos (Candragupta), the founder of the Maurya dynasty and the grandfather of Aśoka, in 305 *i.e.*, twenty-five years after the Macedonian conquest.

The proclamation belongs to the tenth year of Aśoka's reign, *i.e.*, 259-8 according to Eggermont's chronology<sup>2</sup>. From the interpretation of the first sentence it will be seen more clearly that the edict published in this border region was drawn up in the tenth year after consecration of the King, and therefore in the same period of the "Buddhistic" demonstration of Aśoka, as an expression of the *dhamma*, his rule of mercy and truth. In this period the King made a pilgrimage to Bodhi Gaya, the place where Buddha obtained the perfect enlightenment. The "departure towards enlightenment", as mentioned in Edict VIII, probably marked a revival in favour of the social standards imposed by Aśoka after the slaughterous war for the conquest of Kalinga (Edict XIII, in the eighth year after the consecration).

... The two versions of the Alexandropolis brief correspond very closely. The Greek version is divided into three short paragraphs, characterised by a certain rhythmic style: the proclamation of the *dhamma* is found in the first paragraph, some particular rules in the second section, the promise of awards in the third one. Therefore the Greek text can be divided and translated in the following way:

"After ten full years King Piodasse had the text of Mercy published to men and from this moment he made men merciful and everything prospers all over the earth.

And the King abstains from (eating) living creatures, and so also do other men; and those who are hunters and fishers of the King cease from hunting; and if there are people who are incontinent they cease from incontinence by exerting every effort, and they obey their fathers, mothers and elders too.

In present life and in future time they will find themselves in better and preferable conditions from every point of view, if they behave in that way".

#### *English Translation of The Greek Inscription:*

At the end of the tenth year (of his reign or from his consecration) King Piodasses (Piyadassi) made known unto men the (doctrine of) mercy and from this moment made men more merciful, and everything prospers over the whole earth; and the king forbears from (killing) living beings, and other men and whoever "is" the king's hunter or fisherman have forbore from hunting; and if some "were" intemperate, they have curbed their intemperance as far as was within their power; and, obedient to their father and mother and to their elders, as compared with the past, also in the future more pleasantly and better(=better and more pleasantly than in the past) shall they live, having thus informed their whole behaviour.

<sup>1</sup> *Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka*, "Journal Asiatique," 246, 1958, pp. 1-6 (Introduction), 7-18 (Observations sur l'inscription grecque), 19-35 (L'inscription araméenne), 36-48 (Les données iraniennes).

<sup>2</sup> *The Chron. of the reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden 1956.

*English Translation of The Aramaic Inscription:*

In the year 10, *justice*<sup>1</sup> (or: *conversion*) was made of Our Lord, the King Priyadars, according to well-directed righteousness. Since a short time, he has abolished evil for all men and all *living beings*(?), and over the whole earth, and also *everywhere*(?)<sup>2</sup>. And also those who *are in charge*(?) of (providing) food for our Lord the King are killing little; this (happens) in order that all the men (who are) hunters and fishers may see those men *proclaiming* thus: 'those who are *evil-minded*(?), they kill; he who is *pious* and *obedient* to his mother and father and the *elder* people, as they have warned him, will greatly add to the good luck and unimpeachability of everybody for everybody, with enhancement and addition.'

*Vide Un Editto Bilingue Greco-Aramaico Di Aśoka, Roma, 1958, pp. 33-34.*

<sup>1</sup> Words of Iranian origin are printed in italics.

<sup>2</sup> Or: "... he benefits all men and all *living beings*(?) with *happiness*, and over the whole earth, and with *joy*". Or else: "... he sets righteousness right (or: makes truth true)...for everybody's knowledge and has abolished all evil, and over the whole earth, and has also founded(?)".

# APPENDIX C

## NOTES

## EXPLANATIONS, TEXTUAL CRITICISM &amp; REFERENCES

**Upagupta**, a Buddha-without-the-auspicious marks is identified with: **Moggaliputta Tissa Thera\***. He was the President of the third council. In his penultimate birth, he was a Brahmā, called Tissa. He consented to be born in the world of men at the urgent request of the Arahants who held the second council, in order to prevent the downfall of Buddha's Law. He was born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa Moggali of Pāṭaliputta. Siggava and Caṇḍavajji had been entrusted with the task of converting him. For seven years after he was born, Siggava went daily to the house of Moggali, but not even a word of welcome did he receive. In the eighth year, some one said to him, "Go further on." As he went out he met Moggali, and being asked whether he had received anything from his house, he said he had. Moggali inquired at home and the next day charged Siggava with lying. But hearing Siggava's explanation, he was greatly pleased and thereafter, constantly offered Siggava hospitality in his house. One day, young Tissa who was thoroughly proficient in the Vedas, was much annoyed when he saw Siggava occupying his seat. He spoke to him harshly. But Siggava began to speak and asked him a question from the *Cittayamaka*. Tissa could not answer it. In order to learn the teachings of Buddha, he entered the Order under Siggava and became a *Sotāpanna* soon after. Siggava instructed him in the Vinaya while Caṇḍavajji in the Sutta and the Abhidhamma Piṭakas. In due course he attained Arahantship and became the acknowledged leader of the monks at Pāṭaliputta<sup>1</sup>.

At the festival of the dedication of the *Asokārāma* and the other *Vihāras* built by Aśoka, Moggaliputta Tissa told Aśoka, in answer to a question, that one becomes a kinsman of Buddha's Law only by allowing one's son or daughter to enter the Order. Acting according to this suggestion, Aśoka had both his son and daughter ordained. Moggaliputta acted as Mahinda's *upajjhāya*<sup>2</sup>. Later on, because of the great gains which accrued to the monks through Aśoka's patronage of Buddha's Law, the Order became corrupt. Moggaliputta put the monks in charge of Mahinda and for seven years lived in solitary retreat on the Ahogaṅgā-pabbata. Aśoka sent for him to solve his doubts as to what measure of sin belonged to him owing to the murder of the monks by his minister. But Moggaliputta would not come until he was convinced that his services were needed for the sake of the Law. He travelled by boat to Pāṭaliputta and was received at the landing place by the king who helped him to land, by supporting him on his arm<sup>3</sup>. The king having led him to the Rativaddhana park, requested him to perform a miracle. The *Thera* agreed and made the earth quake in a single region. To convince the king that the murder of the monks involved no guilt for the king, the *Thera* preached to him the *Tittira Jātaka*. Within a week, with the help of two *yakkhas*, the king had all the monks gathered together and held an assembly at the *Asokārāma*. In the presence of Moggaliputta, Aśoka questioned the monks on their different doctrines and all those holding heretical views were expelled from the Order. Moggaliputta declared that the *Vibhajjavāda* alone contained the teaching of Buddha. Later on, with one thousand Arahants, Moggaliputta held the third council at *Asokārāma* with himself as president, and compiled the *Kāthāvatthupparāṇa* in refutation of the false views. This was in the seventeenth

\*Waddell, J. A. S. B., 1897, pt. i, p. 76; *Proceedings*, A.S.B., 1899, p. 70; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed. p. 193 fn.

<sup>1</sup> *Mhv.* v. 95 ff., 131 ff., *Dpv.* v. 55 ff., *Sp.* i.35-41.

<sup>2</sup> *Mhv.* v. 191 ff., *Sp.* i. 50 f.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Sp.* i. 58, the king had a dream in the preceding night which the soothsayers interpreted to mean that a great ascetic (*samaṇanāga*) would touch his right hand. When the *Thera* touched the king's hand the attendants were about to kill him, for to do this was a crime punishable by death. The king, however, restrained them. The *Thera* took the king's hand as a sign that he accepted him as his pupil.

year of Aśoka's reign, and Moggaliputta was then seventy-two years old<sup>1</sup>. At the closing of the council which continued for nine months, Moggaliputta made arrangements, in the month of *Kāttika*, for monks to go to the countries adjacent to India for the propagation of the Law<sup>2</sup>. Afterwards when the request came from Ceylon for a branch of the Bodhi-tree, Aśoka consulted the Elder as to how this could be carried out. Moggaliputta then told him of the five resolves made by Buddha in his death-bed<sup>3</sup>.

The *Dīpaṃśa*<sup>4</sup> says that Moggaliputta Tissa's ordination was in the second year of Candagutta's (Chandragupta's) reign, when Siggava was sixty-four years old. Candagutta reigned for twenty-four years, and was followed by Bindusāra who reigned for thirty-seven years and he was succeeded by Aśoka. In the sixth year of Aśoka's reign, Moggaliputta was sixty-six years old and it was then that he ordained Mahinda. He was eighty years old at the time of his death and had been the leader of the Order for sixty-eight years. He died in the twenty-sixth year of Aśoka's reign. *Vide* G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, pp. 664-6.

translations the Thera is called Śāṇa-vāsa. In the *Ratnamūlavādāna* and *Bodhisattvāvādāna*°, he is called Śāṇa-vāsin and described as the Guru of Upagupta. Vide p. 145; and *Avadāna* 71, respectively.

Page 3. **śamatha** quietude of heart; meditation characterized by the one-pointedness of the mind; Vide *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā* (viii). **aranyāyatana** a forest haunt (place of frequent resort). **etarhi** now, at present; cf. Pali; cf. also Vedic texts, *TS.*, *SB.*, *AB.*, *TB.* 3.1.2.19; also Class. *Kīrāt*, 1.32. **vinipatita-śarīra** "the fallen body" or "one whose body is fallen"; *śarīreṇa* "with the fallen body" or "with his fallen body" i.e., in former existence or with the body of his former existence. **pārśva** It is rarely used in masculine gender. **Pratyeka-Buddha**, °**Bodhi**: Buddha who (without the help of a teacher, *anācāryaka*) has attained to the Supreme wisdom (Bodhi) and perfect insight but dies without proclaiming the Truth to the world is a Pratyeka-Buddha. The Enlightenment (Bodhi) of such a Buddha is called Pratyekā Bodhi: cf. Pali: *Pacceka*°. **ṽṛddhānta**, **navānta** *ṽṛddhāntika*, *navāntika* (to the novice) cf. Pali: *odakāntika* etc. **parinirvāna**, °**ṽṛta** "complete Nirvāna" in two meanings: 1. Complete extinction of *skandha*-life; that is, all possibility of such life and its re-birth, final release from (the misery of) rebirth and transmigration; death (after the last life-span of an Arhat). 2. Release from cravings and attachment to life, emancipation (in this life) with the assurance of final death; freedom of spirit, calm, perfect well-being or peace of soul. **civara-karnika** the lappet of a monk's robe; cf. Pali: *civara-kanna*. **markaṭaś cintayati niyatam ete kālagatā bhaviṣyanti**=**abhavan** or **bhaveyuh**. Here is a peculiar use of future tense. **paridevitvā**=**paridevya**: Such grammatically incorrect forms of gerund are found frequently in the text. Such wrong use of gerund is seen in old works: *uṣoṣitvā*, *Mahābhārata*, 13.136.11; *nivartayitvā*, *Ibid*, 14.52.57.

Page 4. **kaṅṭhakāpāśraya** cf. Pali: °*āpassaya*; a bed made of an out-stretched skin under which are placed thorns or iron spikes; to lie or stand on such a bed is a practice of certain naked ascetics. °*āpassayika*: "bed-of-thorns-man." **pañcātapaṽvasthita**, **pañca-tapas**, : °**tapa** sitting between five sacred fires: (i) *anvāhāryaṣpacana*, or *dakṣiṇa*, (ii) *gāruḥaṭya* (iii) *āhavanīya* (iv) *saḥya* and (v) *āvasathya*; maintaining the five sacred fires or one fire towards each of the four quarters and the sun overhead; cf. also: *pañcāgni*, *pañcātapaḥ*, *f. Kālikā-Purāna*. See also *Manu-Saṁhitā*, vi. 23. **iriyā-patha** Pali: *iriyā-patha* way of deportment, mode of movement, good behaviour. There are four *iriyā* or postures, viz., walking, standing, sitting, lying down. **vikopay** to shake up, upset, spoil, do harm, destroy. **bodhipakṣa-dharma** qualities or items consisting or contributing to Bodhi; usually they are thirty-seven but they are also increased to forty-three. **āmukhikṛ** to make visible. **āgama** owing to, relating to, by means of, thanks to; cf. Pali.

Page 5. **samanvāhṛ** to concentrate the mind, to reflect: cf. Pali: *saman-nāharati*. **upāyena** by artifice or means of a trick; Pali. **abhiprasādita** one whose faith is established; cf. Pali: *abhiṣpasādeti* to establish one's faith in. **abhiṣprasanna** having faith in. **pañcācchramaṇa** a junior Bhikṣu who follows a senior; and the Śramaṇa who accompanies, as Ānanda accompanied Buddha. **jarādharma** subject to growing old; cf. Pali; old.

Page 7. **abhirūpa**, **darśanīya**, **prāsādika** handsome, fair to behold, amiable; Pali phrase. See *Kumālavādāna*, p. 105. **jātimaha** birthday-festival. **alābho'nuccheda** "no profit no loss"; neither profit nor loss. **sarvavātī sarvā**; cf. Pali: *sabbāvanti*. **cittacaitasika** Pali & Div. °*ceta*° mind and all that belongs to it, mind and mental properties. **Idiṣṭa** impure, unclean, lustful, bad.

Page 8. **yadi kevalam cittaṁ pariññāturū śakyasi pratipakṣaṁ mocayitūṁ**: "If you can (could) cast off the obstacles and understand the mind thoroughly." **kevalam** entirely, thoroughly; Pali. **aśubhā** (-*bhāvanā*) contemplation on the impurities (of the body; such as: contemplation on a dead body, skeleton, etc.). **buddhānusmṛti** mindfulness of Buddha, reflection or meditation on Buddha.

Page 9. **purāṇa** a particular (gold or silver) coin; *larṣa*. **prābhṛta** present, gift, offering (esp. to a deity or a sovereign) cf. *prabhṛti*, *f.* bringing forward,

offering (of a sacrifice or praise) *RV. AV.*; *prabhṛtha*, m. offering, oblation; *prābhṛtāc*, n. present, gift, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act v.; (below verse 14). Pali: *pābhati*, n. present, bribe, price, money. *avaskara* refuse; slop-basin, ash-bin; cf. Pali: *akāḥāra*.

Page 10. **choray** to abandon, leave, reject, throw away: cf. Pali: *chaddeti*. **yadā praśastāmbarasāhvṛtāṅgī**: The second *pāda* of this Upajāti is in Vāṁśastha metre. **svabhāva-niyata** dependent on its nature, bound in its nature (of instability). **upasthāyaka** a nurse, attendant.

Page 11. **kāma-rāga** sensual passion, lust; cf. Pali. **paṭṭaka** a bandage. **idam yadā pañkajagarbhakomalam**: Vāṁśastha is the metre. **etarhi kim draṣṭum ihāgato'si me**: A combination of Vāṁśastha and Indra-varṁśā. **pracchādita vastravibhūṣaṇādyaiḥ**: This *śloka* is in Upajāti metre. **bhaved yathā ca**: *yathā ca (te) svabhāvo bhavet tathā tvaṁ na dṛṣṭā'siity arthah*.

Page 12. **kunapa** a dead body; also a living body. *Vide yasy ātmabuddhiḥ kunape tridhātuke*<sup>o</sup>; cf. *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, 10.84.13. **avakṛṣṭāvakṛṣṭasya**: "The body which is inferior to the inferiors is impure. Pure is the act of withdrawing (oneself) from sensual pleasures; (but) the sensual person considers it (body) as beautiful." Or "pure is the act of withdrawing the sensual person who considers the body as beautiful, from sensual pleasures." **śubha-sajñā** cf. *anīte nitya-sajñānah, duḥkhe aduḥkha-sajñānah, aśubhe śubha-sajñānah*; etc. *Mūla-māhyanaka-kārikā-ṛtti*, xvi. p. 300; "considering as beautiful or pure"; or cf. Pali: *aśubha-saññā*, "having an idea of or realizing the impurity (of the body)." **daurgandhyam pravāryate**: This and the following *śloka* are in Śārdūlavikrīḍita. **mārga, mārga-plava**, = *dharma, dharma-nāva*; "boat of Dharma (Good Law)."

vaktra and the next after the following is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. *anudya* unutterable, *vide*, Pāṇini, iii-1-101 (commentary). Readings such as *anudyam* (suggested by Cowell) and *anadyam* found in the MSS. are to be rejected for the sake of the metre. *tad anuṣṭaman anugrahaṇī prati* 'on account of incomparable kindness.'

Page 24. *āgam* to wait; *cf.* Pali *āgāmeti*. *śūraṃ vañcayituṃ purā*: Śārdūlavikrīḍita is the metre. Śūra Ambaṭṭha was born in a banker's family in Śrāvastī. One day when Buddha went to his door for alms, Śūra invited him in and entertained him with a meal. After the meal, when Buddha gave him thanks he became a *śrotāpanna*. Sometime after when Buddha had left, Māra disguised as Buddha visited Śūra and in reply to Śūra's inquiry said that he had returned to contradict a wrong statement which he had made before. Śūra recognised Māra and drove him away. *A.* i. 26; iii. 451. *Sūtrā-lankāra*, pp. 230-36. *tāthāgataṃ vapurathottama*: Vasantatilaka is the metre. *vyāma-prabhā* a halo extending for a fathom around Buddha. *asecanaka* unadulterated, unimpaired properties, sublime, lovely; *cf.* Pali: *M.* i. 114, *A.* iii. pp. 237 ff., *S.* i. 212, v. 321. *Milinda*°, 405. Sanskrit texts read both *aseca*°, and *āseca*°; *Vide Amarakoṣa, Viśeṣyanighnavarga: tad a(ā)secanakaṃ tīstet nāsty anto yaya darīṇāt.*

Page 25. *dhig astu tāṃ niṣkaruṇāṃ*: This is Varṇasṭha and the following is Śārdū°. *vyaktam upāgata pratyakṣam upāgata, vyāpin* pervading.

Page 26. *yat tat* refers to *karman*. The metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. *dāna-kṣānti-samādhi-niyama* may be taken as *dāna-pāramitā, kṣānti-pāra-dhīyāna-pāra*°, *prajāṇā-pāra*°, *īla-pāra*°. *yam dṛṣṭvā ripur apy° yam buddhaḥ dṛṣṭvā ity arthah. jalavihata ivāgni*: *cf. degdhendhanānālatat, Sāṅkara Vedānte, i. 1. 11. Māhī* is the metre.

Page 27. *mṛṇmayiṣu pratīkṛti*°: Here is a parallel passage: *kṣīṇimāsu aṣṭi bumbūsu vandyā bhagavataḥ tanvā. na sa mṛkākṣṭhadhātūnām praṇāmaḥ kṛyate budhāḥ. Bodhisattvā-adāna*°; 72 *Avadāna*. Verse 68. *svayambhū* master of himself, self-independent; an epithet of Bu° *cf.* Pali. *tribhava-pradīpī* a lamp in the three states of existence (*bhava*); i. sensual existence (*kāma*°), ii. *deva*-corporeal existence (*rūpa*°) and iii. formless existence (*arūpa*°). *śabdā* voice. *yad bhūyasā* the greatest part, almost all, mostly; *cf.* Pali: *yebhūyena*.

Page 28. *kathika* relating, speaking, conversing about, expounding; preacher, speaker, expounder, *cf.* Pali. *siṃha*, the lion among the speakers. *mokṣa-bhāgiya* connected with, conducive to, procuring *mokṣa*; *cf.* Pali: *bhāgiya*. *kuśala-mūla* root of good: *alobha, adosa, amoha* i.e., absence of greed, anger or ill-will and delusion are considered to be the root of all good actions. *ākṣipta* caused, produced. *sakṣd āgāmin* returning once, one who attained the second grade of saving wisdom. *yujyamāna* "being united (with the Truth):" "advancing through trances." *kṛta-karaṇīyāḥ arthakāṃ prāptāḥ*; *cf. kṛtā me jātur untaṇi brahmacariyāḥ, kṛtāṃ karaṇīyāṇāṃ nāpāram asmād bha: s'ī praṇāṇāṃ. kāmadhātu* world of desire. *buddha-kṣetra* field or region of (or for the existence of) Buddha. *kāryānurodhāt* with reference to a religious performance.



**dyanti sañ-vādyā** used as *nāmadhātu* here: *vādyā iva ācarati. sanyag vādyā iva ācarati*; cf. *sarvaprātipadikebhyah kvib vā vaktavyah. sūryaprabhām* : Vasanta-tilaka is the metre. **sakānanastham** = *sakānanasthalam*. **sthā** for *sthala* (a dry land, opp. to damp low land).

Page 31. **kulika** belonging to a (high) family. *agra*° coming from a very good family. **dr̥ṣṭvā mahākāruṇikam svayambhuvaṃ** : The first *pāda* is in *Indravaiśā*, the rest is in *Indravajrā*. **prañidhāna, prañidhi** aspiration, prayer, longing, request, resolve; cf. Pali. **kārā pūjā. ksetra** the soil of merit, the deposit of good deeds which like a fertile field bears fruit to the advantage of the 'giver' of gifts or the "doer" of good works.

Page 32. **rājya-vaipākya-kuśalam ākṣiptam** a merit is produced which is to result in (the achievement of) kingdom. **dharmatā khalu yasmin samaye buddhā bhagavantaḥ smitam vidarśayanti** : This passage including the *śloka* ending in *dhīrābhir muniṛṣa vāgbhir utpannam vyapanaya sañśayam śubhābhīḥ*, is found in various chapters of the *Avadānaśataka*, vide *Avadānas*, 1-10, 17, 20, 22, 23; the *śloka* : *ārabhadhvañ niṣkrāmata* is found also in the 88th *Avā*°. **arcis** is found in all the three genders in Sanskrit literature. **sañjīva...** **avīci** names of different grades of hell. **kāraṇa** a deed, action, esp. an act imposed or inflicted upon somebody as an ordeal, a feat or punishment; cf. Pali. **prati-pra-srahh** to subside, to be eased, calmed, to pass away; cf. Pali *paṭippassaddhi*. **nirmīta** created (by supernatural power; by *ṛddhi*). **pratisandhi** reunion (of vital principles with a body), re-incarnation, metempsychosis. **caturmahārājikā** : **cātummahārājikā** four kings inhabiting the lowest of the six *deva-lokas*. Their names are: *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Virūdhaka*, *Virūpākṣa* and *Vaiśravaṇa*. **yāmā yāmā devā**, those who belong to *Yama*, the ruler of the under-world, subjects of *Yama*. **tusitā** etc. names of different classes of gods; Vide *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii, 253, iii, 194. **tuṣitāḥ, °sitā** the inhabitants of *tuṣita*, the fourth of the six *devalokas*. It is said that the *Bodhisattvas* are to be born in *tuṣita* in their penultimate birth. **nirmānaratī** : **nimmānaratī devas** inhabiting the fifth of the six *deva-lokas*. They are named thus as they delight in their own creation. They can create any form in any colour. **paranimmīta-vasavattī** (°ttin) a class of *devas* who live in the highest stage of the sensuous universe (*kāmaloka*). They are named thus as their power is under control (of the creation) of others. The commentary says that the other gods who know their weakness create the objects of their desire, like a cook who knows what dishes are favourite to the king and prepares the same. **brahma-kāyikā** inhabitants of the *brahma-loka*, the highest of the celestial worlds. It consists of 20 heavens, 16 being the worlds of forms and four being the worlds of incorporeal gods. It is to be noted that the *devas* of the *brahma*° are free from sensual desires (*kāma*). **brahma-purohitā** ministers or priests of *mahā-brahmā*. Inhabitants of *brahma*°. **mahā-brahmā** *Tudu*, *Nārada*, *Ghaṭikāra*, *Baka*, *Sanañ-kumāra* and *Sahampati* are described as *mahā-brahmā*. **paritābhā, appamāñabhā** a class of gods who are included among the *ābhā* gods (a generic name for *devas* distinguished for their brilliance) who belong to the plane of the second *dhyāna*. **ābhassarā** inhabitants of the *brahma-loka* whose persons emit lustre like the lightning. They belong to the *rūpa-loka*, in the plane of the second *dhyāna*. **paritta-subhā** a class of gods belonging to the *subhās* i.e., a group of *brahmās* which includes *paritta*°, *appamāna*° and *subha-kinnā*. **appamāna-subhā** a class of *brahmās* of the *rūpa-loka*. **subha-kinnā, °kiñhā** a class of *brahmās* who inhabit the ninth *rūpa-loka*. **avilā, atappā, sudassā, sudassī** and **akaniṭṭhā** belong to the *suddhāvāsa* which is the name for this group of *brahma-lokas*. The five highest *rūpa-lokas* and their inhabitants are called by these names. There the *anāgāmins* are born and attain to Arhathood. It is to be noted that the *Bodhisattvas* are never born in these five worlds. **mṛtyunaḥ** cf. Pali *maccuno*. The Pali form is Sanskritized.

Page 33. **anvāhiṇḍ** cf. Pali: *anvāhiṇḍati*, to wander to (accus). **antar-dhīyante** is used here in active voice; cf. Pali *°dhāyanti*. Is it Pali influence? Was the form originally *antar-dhāyante*? **balacakravartin** "one with the wheel of power of sovereignty", a powerful king. **ūrṇū** a circle of hair between the eye-brows. **hetupratyaya** Pali

*pacceya*, the moral causal relation. **uddhava** joy, pleasure; *cf.* Pali: *uddhacca* over-balancing, agitation, excitement, distraction. In this sense the word *uddhava* is used here. **smitam vidarśayanti**: The verb *vi-darśay* offends the metre. For the sake of metre, it may be read *vidarśenti*. Most probably the form was originally *vidarśenti* (*cf.* Pali *dasseti* and Buddhist Sanskrit: *kalpenti*, *deśenti*, *varṣenti*, *nāśenti*, *samprakāśeti*, *samāroṣenti* etc. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, p. 321, verse 444; p. 313, verse 629; p. 361, v. 779; p. 331, v. 532; p. 334, v. 550; p. 156 etc.) and later on, it was corrected. The last *pāda* is in accordance with the *Vatīśastha* metre. **tat kālām svayam adhigamya**: The metre is *Prahar* *śiṅi*. **govṛṣa** a bull; *kināśo govṛṣo yānam alamkāraś ca veśma ca. Manu*<sup>o</sup>, ix. 150.

Page 34. **caturbhāga-cakravartin** ruling over one of the four continents of the world. **śarira-dhātu** relics. **dharmarājikā** relating to Dharmarāja (Buddha) *i.e.* *stūpa*, a monument on his relics. **astamgate mayi bhavi**: The metre is *Vasanta*<sup>o</sup>. **jambuśanda** rose-apple grove = *Jambudvīpa*, *cf.* Pali. **deyadharmā** "the duty of giving", charity. **caṅkrama** the place where one walks, especially a terraced walk, cloister, *cf.* Pali: *caṅkama*. **sagomayena** *suṣomayena? gomayena saha*. **gomayaltārṣi** a piece of (dried) cow-dung, cow-dung-cake. **caṅkrama(tī) yai-luganto'yam prayogaḥ**.

Page 35. **grahāya** *grhītā*, *cf.* Pali. *gahāya*. **caṅkṣuṣasampreṣaṇa** *caṅkṣuṣasampreṣaṇa?* *cf.* Pali *°samphassa*, contact with the sense of vision.

Page 36. **śikṣāpita** = **śikṣita** Pali influence *cf.* Pali *sikkhāpeti*. **nāpinī** *cf.* Pali *nahāmin* (*°n*?). **paricāray** to amuse oneself, to gratify one's senses, *cf.* Pali *paricāreti*. **jātimaha** *janmotsava* a festival on account of a child's birth. **duḥsparsa-gātra** one with a rough body which is unpleasant to the touch; *cf.* Pali *dupphassa*: of bad touch, bad to the touch, *i.e.* rough, unpleasant. **Piṅgalavatsajīva**: He seems to belong to the Ājivika sect. Some scholars relying on these stories think that Aśoka had great favour for the Ājivika sect because of the Prediction of Piṅgalavatsa. And therefore, he (and his queen-mother) gave special gifts of Caves to the Ājivikas (*Vide* Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions). **parikṣāmah**, **pari-ikṣ** *parikṣ* (except *nijanta*) is always used in *ātmanepada*; but some forms of *parasmaipada*, such as *parikṣat* (present participle) *parikṣat* are found in epics and older literature.

Page 37. **mahallaka** old, venerable, *cf.* Pali. *hastināga* a strong stately elephant (as a symbol of strength and endurance) *cf.* Pali *hatthināga*. **pra-** **st** to stretch, to spread; *cf.* Pali: *°pāda* with spreading feet. **abhedena** without disclosing, by hints.

Page 44. **pari-bhās** to abuse, scold, censure, defame; cf. Pali.

Page 45. **kārāpita** = **kārīta** cf. Pali *kārāpeti*, *kārāpita*. **ramanīyaka bandhana** a beautiful building or prison. **bāla-panḍita-sūtra**: Both in the *bāla-panḍita-sūtra* and the *deva-dūta-sūtra* there are similar descriptions of torture of sinners in hell. Vide *M.* vol. iii. pp. 163-87; *A.* vol. i. pp. 138-42. Chl reads only the following for the whole passage: "Those who like the potful broth will be pounded with a rammer. Those who like what are heaped up in the mortar will be cooked in the saucepan. Those who are in hell (have to) swallow big balls of iron; boiled copper is poured into their mouths." **viṣkambhaṇa** = **viṣkambha** a prop, support. **vi-ṣkambh** to prop, support, fix. **ayoguḍa** iron ball; cf. Pali. **ādīpta** set on fire, blazing, burning; cf. Pali *āditta* = *paditta*, *jalita*. **antraguṇa** the intestinal tract, cf. Pali. **pra-ghar** cf. Pali *paggharati*, *pa+gharati* which stands for *kṣarati* to ooze, flow out or forth.

Page 46. **ā-sphāṭay**: **ā+sphāṭ+ñic** to split open, to tear; to expand, to make to gape. **pañcavidhabandhanakāraṇā** the fivefold ordeal in hell. It consists of the piercing of a red-hot iron stake through both hands, both feet and the chest. It is a sort of crucifixion. T.W. Rhys Davids says: "We may conjecture that this "bandhana" is a corruption of *vaddhana* (of *vyadh* or *viddhana*?) and the expression originally was: *pañcavidddhanakāraṇā*." **kāraṇa** or **kāraṇā** a deed, action, performance. Especially an act imposed or inflicted by a higher authority (by the king or *karman*) as an ordeal, a feat or punishment. **krām** (**anti**) used here in the causative sense, to cause to go through, penetrate. **janapada-cārikā** tramping the country; cf. Pali.

Page 47. **pūrvāhṇe nivāsya pātracivaram ādāya** cf. Pali: *pubbantasamayam nivāsetvā pāttacivaram ādāya*. **pratibhaya** exciting fear, formidable, terrible, dangerous. **vistareṇa kāryam** in detail, in extenso (it is to be done). **rudasī** cf. Vedic forms. Pali both *rudati* & *rodati*. **sukhodaya** having a happy result; cf. Pali *sukha udāya* (*udāya*). **krama** relieve, suspense, or delay in execution. **vyāyata-mati** one with a struggling mind; *vi-ā-yam* to struggle.

Page 48. **saṁvigna** agitated, moved by fear or awe, excited, stirred; cf. Pali *saṁviggā*. **ālambana** cf. Pali *ārammaṇa* a basis for the working of the mind and intellect, i.e., sense-object, object of thought or consciousness, object of meditation. **vyujyat** being engaged in (loc.), exerting oneself, endeavouring. **saṁyojana** bond, fetters; especially the fetters that bind man to the wheel of transmigration (*saṁsāra*). **kāraṇā-kāla** time for ordeal or punishment, time for killing.

Page 49. **pañcāvaraṇa** five obstacles or hindrances. Pali °*nivaraṇa*: (i) *kāmacchanda*, sensuality, (ii) (*abhijjhā-*) *vyāpāda*, ill-will, (iii) *thīna-middha*, torpor of mind, or body, (iv) *uddhacca-kukkucca*, worry, (v) *vicikicchā*, wavering. **vaineya-kāla** proper time for receiving instructions.

Page 50. **prasravaṇah iva**: After elision of the *visarga* again the *sandhi* (which is prohibited) is made. Cases of such prohibited *sandhi* are often found in the *Avadānas*. **ud-bhāvay** to speak of, explain, mention. **āsrava** Pali *āsava* that which flows (out or into), outflow & influx. The four *āsavas* are: (i) *kāma*, sensuality, (ii) *bhava*, rebirth (lust for life), (iii) *diṭṭhi*, speculation, (iv) *avijjā*, ignorance. These intoxicate the mind so that it cannot rise to higher things. Freedom from *āsrava*s constitutes Arhat-hood.

Page 51. **kāruṇya-purojava**: *purojava*, an attendant, cf. Div. pp. 211, 214, 379. *kāruṇya-purojava* lit. 'attendant of mercy', waiting upon mercy; miserable. **dharma-dhara** one who knows the Dharma by heart, a missionary (?). But the word is not used in this sense here. *dharma-dhara* = relics-holder i.e. the *stūpa*. Vide the following utterances of the king. Vide also *Kumālavadāna*, p. 79: *vaistārīkā dhātudharāḥ kṣtās ca daśabalasuta kṣanta*°: The letter *kṣa* should be read as *kha*, as in Pali. This is Pali influence. The writer appears to be more well-versed in Pali. The metre is *Puspitāgrā*. **pravāṇa** generous (Lexicographers). **haṁsāṁśuśāṅkhendubalākalkalpa** as white (lit. swan-rayed, swan-coloured) as the conch-shell, moon and crane. **mā tāvat** = *maivam* (not so).

Page 52. **yantragṛha** a torch-chamber. **droṇa-stūpa** name of a *stūpa* said to contain a *droṇa* holding relics of Buddha. **bhaktim ato yāvat sapta-**

Page 63. *naivāhaṁ tan na jāne* : Svadanā is the metre. *na viṣaya-ṛṣita* not for the thirst of enjoyments (in heaven). *pūṭika-māṣa* rotten or stinking beans (*māṣa* in later times came to mean a kind of pulse having seeds marked with black and grey spots).

Page 64. *ākīrṇa* crowded. *videha* : Ch *videśa* : This is the correct reading.

Page 65. *lūha-praṇīta* plentiful of wretched (alms). *lūha(rūkṣa)*, poor, bad, wretched, coarse; Pali: *lūkha*. *kṛtakaraṇīya* "He has done what was ought to be done", i.e., he has become an Arhat; *vide kṣīṇā me jātiḥ . . . kṛtāṁ karaṇīyaṁ*. *tasya hy aniyataṁ katharṁ* = *tasya arhantvāṁ aniyataṁ katharṁ*. It refers to the preceding sentence: *niyatam ayaṁ kṛtakaraṇīyo* (= Arhat) *bhavi-yyati* (= *bhavel*). *nirāsrava* detached from the outflow and influx of (i) sensuality, (ii) rebirth, (iii) speculation and (iv) ignorance. *apahāya mauryavaṁśam* : *mauryavaṁśaṁ magadhapuram sarvaratnaniṣayaṁ cāpahāya [gataṁ] prahīṇa-* *madamānasārambhaṁ* (anger, Pali) *vaṁśanivohaṁ [vaṁśadharaṁ] dṛṣṭvā puram aly uddhṛtam iva yasasā pūtam iva maharṁ* (great) *ca manye. udāreṇa tvayā daśabala-* *dharasāsanaṁ pratipadyatāṁ*. *prajūpta* 'appointed' 'ordained', °*āsana*, appointed or ordained chair (or seat). *praṇīta* 'excellent' (*āhāra*), heaped up, plentiful, abundant; cf. Pali : *paṇita*.

Page 66. *dharmyayā kathayā saṁdarśayan* instructing with speeches that are in accordance with the Dharma. *saṁdṛṣṭika* visible, belonging to this life. Pali *sandiṭṭhika*. *janakāya* a body or group of people.

Page 67. *ṛddhyā khalv avabhartsitā* : *Sārdūla*° is the metre. *śirasita* = *śiraśita*, 'one with a white head (grey hair)'. *upasthāyaka* a nurse, attendant. *Idhusta* bald; origin untraced. *Nirgrantha* 'free from all ties or hindrances', 'without possession', Jina, a Jain. *upāsaka* a lay devotee.

Page 68. *Ājivika* or *Ājivaka* : The doctrine of the *Ājivikas* are older than Jainism or Buddhism. It began to develop in the 7th or 8th century B.C., somewhere near the Gangetic valley. Makkhaliputta (*Maskariputra*) Gosā(śā)la elevated this doctrine into a philosophy of life. He was the central figure, the 1st Tirthankara of the *Ājivikas*, as Mahāvīra to the Jains. They two practised austerities together for some time. It is said that Gosāla attained to Jinahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine. Gosāla introduced the philosophy of natural transformation (*Parināmavāda*) which he formulated from the generalization of the periodical reanimations of plant life. The basic idea of this philosophy implies a process of natural and spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths (*samsārasuddhi*). This philosophy of *samsārasuddhi* inspires us with a great message of hope that even the puniest thing of the creation, that even a dew-drop is destined to attain, in course of natural evolution, the highest state of perfection in humanity. The *Ājivika* sect consisted of monks and householders, both male and female. It spread all over India and existed among rival sects till the 14th century A.D. Some inscriptions (Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. i, pp. 88, 89, 92, 108) dated the 13th century A.D. are found in Madras which record that a kind of poll-tax was imposed on the *Ājivikas* and that probably checked the further progress of this religious sect. The *Ājivikas* finally lost their identity and merged into the Digambara Jain, the Śivaite and others. Cf. B. Barua, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. ii. *pūrvānta-jñāna* the knowledge of the past (life). *ḷṣīpta* produced.

Page 69. *Pratyeka-Buddha* : One who has attained to the Supreme wisdom and perfect insight, but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world (a silent Buddha).

Page 70. *yavāgūpāns* a drink of rice-milk. cf. Pali: *yāvagūpāna*. *nimantra-* *raka* = invitation. *praṇidhāna* aspiration, longing, prayer, resolve.

difference between the person who is in trance and a dead man.<sup>1</sup> The first four stages are named the first trance (*prathama dhyāna*), the second trance (*dvitīya dhyāna*), the third trance (*trītiya dhyāna*), and the fourth trance (*caturtha dhyāna*). In the *Digha-Nikāya* (vol. iii. p. 78) and *Anguttara*<sup>o</sup> (iv., p. 410), the first trance or *prathama dhyāna* is thus described: It is free from demerit (*viviktaṃ pāpakair akusalair*) free from the attachment of the five senses (*anāsravaṃ*). It is accompanied by thoughts and reflections (*savitarkam savicāram*) and by bliss produced from right judgement (*vivekaja-prītisukham*). **prācīna-nimnā** inclined towards East. **°pravaṇā** sloping Eastward. **°praḅbhārā** bending and inclining Eastward. These three compounds express the same sense. **chandaḥ + ābharaṇāni . . . praviṣṭaḥ + ekaḥ** : As it is frequently found, the prohibited *sandhi* is made in both these cases. **nirupasthāyaka** without any attendant.

Page 85. **grahāya gṛhītvā**; cf. Pali *gahāya*. **Ārāḍa** or **Ārāḍa Kālāma** : One of the two famous spiritual teachers of Gautama or Siddhārtha from whom the latter learned the seven of the nine stages of trance (*dhyāna*). **Udraka Rāmaputra** : The other teacher who taught Gautama how to attain to the eighth stage of the *dhyāna*. Vide *Majjhima*<sup>o</sup>, vol. i. pp. 163-66, 240; vol. ii. pp. 93, 212. *Digha*<sup>o</sup>, ii. p. 130. *Anguttara*<sup>o</sup>, ii. p. 180. *Vinaya*<sup>o</sup> (Oldenberg) i. 7. *Lalitavistara*, (Lefmann) pp. 238, 243-45 (ch. xvii). *Buddhacarita*, xii. 1-88. *Jātaka* (Fausböll) i. pp. 66, 81. *Mahāvastu* (Senart) ii. 118-20. **tāpita** roused, converted. **nāyām mārgo hy abhijñāyā** : This line may be read thus: *°hy abhijñāta iti jñātvā samatyajāt*. **Nandā, Nandabalā** : Vide *Buddhacarita*, xii. 109. **ṣoḍaśa-guṇita** sixteen times. **Kālīka Nāgarāja** = Mahākāla Nāgarāja : His palace was under the river Nirañjanā. When Buddha attained to Enlightenment, the Nāgarāja with his Nāga maidens went to Buddha and sang in praise of the Enlightened One. *Jātaka*, i. 70, 72. *Mahāvastu*, ii. 265, 302, 304; comp. the episode of *Kālyādamana* by Kṛṣṇa.

Page 86. **bodhi-maṇḍa** (for **°maṇḍala**) the ground under the Bodhi-tree, hence the spot where Buddha was seated at the time of attaining Bodhi. **°vṛṣṭas tvayā jvalita**<sup>o</sup> : This *sloka* is in Vasantatilaka and the following is in Puṣpitāgrā.

Page 87. **iha munivṛṣabhena** : Puṣpitāgrā is the metre. **namuci-bala māra-bala**, the army of Māra. **Trapuṣa-Bhallika** : Pali Tapussa, Tapassu, Bhalluka, Bhallika, Bhalliya : Tapassu. A merchant of Ukkala. He and his friend Bhalluka, while on their way to Rājagṛha, saw Buddha at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, in the eighth week after the Enlightenment. Urged by a diety who had been their relation, they offered Buddha rice-cakes and honey in a bowl provided by the Four Regent gods (*catur mahārāja*). They became the first lay disciples of Buddha and their 'formula of Refuge' contains no reference to the Saṅgha (*Vin.* i. 3f. *A.* i. 26; *J.* i. 80; *Mv.* iii. 303).

According to the *Thera-gāthā* commentary (i. 48f.) Tapassu and Bhalluka were brothers; they were sons of a caravan leader of Pokkharavati. Sometime later they visited Buddha at Rājagṛha where he preached to them. Tapassu thereupon became a *srotāpanna*, while Bhalluka entered the Order and became an Arhat.

**Upagaṇa Ājivika** : Pali Upaka Ājivaka : An Ājivika whom Buddha met on his way between Gaya and the Bodhi-tree, when he set out for *Isipatana* to preach the first Sermon. Upaka questioned Buddha on his attainments and when Buddha told him what he had accomplished he asked Buddha if he were 'Anantajina'. When Buddha acknowledged it, Upaka shook his head saying, "It may be so friend" and went along by another road (*J.* i. 81; *Vin.* i. 8; *M.* i. 170-1. The reading should be : **Upaga Ājivi**<sup>o</sup>).

Afterwards, being constantly mocked and teased by his wife, Upaka left home and went to Buddha who was then at Śrāvastī. Upaka was admitted to the order. As the result of his meditation he became an *Anāgāmin* and was

<sup>1</sup> The only difference between death and this state is that in the latter the heat of the body is not lost, the life does not cease to be and the sense-organs are not destroyed, while in the former, all these are destroyed; cf. *Visuddhi-magga* (P.T.S.) p. 559.

Page 96. **Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja** : Pali, °Bhāradvāja: He was a son of a chaplain of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. He belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*. He was well-versed in the Vedas and was a successful teacher. Later on, he disliked his profession and went to Rājagṛha. There he saw heaps of gifts bestowed on Buddha's disciples. He was very greedy and so joined the Order. Afterwards, following Buddha's advice, he conquered his greed and became an Arhat.

He was called Piṇḍola because he entered the Order for greed of food (*piṇḍaṇi ulamāno pariyesamāno pabbajito ti*). *A.* i. 23; *Vin.* ii. 110f.; *J.* iv. 375ff.

Page 97. **pratyeka-buddhāśraya** 'one who has taken the form or body (*āśraya*) of Pratyeka Buddha'. **araṇā-vihārin** one who is living in solitude. Or *a-ṛaṇa* 'not fighting' = *ahimsā* non-violence, *maitrī* friendliness; thus *araṇā-vihārin* means *maitrī-vihārin*; cf. Pali. Vasantatilaka is the metre.

Page 98. **buddhāvataṁsaka** a garland of Buddhas. By miracles or psychic power, innumerable Buddhas were shown who looked like a garland of Buddhas and covered the space between the earth and the heaven of the *akaniṣṭha* gods (said to be the highest point of the universe). **tīrthya** (*tīrthika*) a heretic. Vasantatilaka is the metre. **Sāmkāśya** a city 30 leagues from Śrāvastī. **utpalavarṇayā ca nirmitā cakravartī-sampadā** (for *sampad*). According to the *Dhammapada* commentary (iii. 211) the miracle which Uppalavaṇṇā volunteered to perform (but Buddha did not allow, *ThigA.* 190, 195.) was the metamorphosis of a *cakkavattin*, with a retinue extending for thirty-six leagues, paying homage to Buddha.

Page 99. **Anātha-piṇḍada-duhitā Sumāgadhā** : According to the Pali scriptures, she was called Cūḷa-Subhaddā (or Mahā-Subhaddā: there is confusion in the stories of these two sisters). *Vide DhA.* iii. 465ff.; *AA.* ii. 482ff.; *AA.* i. 146, 148f. and *Vsm.* 390. **sumāgadhāyāḥ + upanimantrita = sumāgadhāyā upa°** : After this the *sandhi* which is prohibited is made. **yadā jagāmardhibalena** : *Vaiśāsthā* is the metre.

Page 100. **pratisammodana** cf. Pali: *paṭisammodeti* to greet friendly, in return. *manāna* pleasing.

**ātta-manas** "having an upraised mind", delighted, pleased, enraptured, cf. Pali *atta-māna* (*atta-manatā* 'transport of mind'). **upanūmay** to approach, bring near; to offer, present, hand over, cf. Pali *ūnāmeti*. **sutasya me netravārā** *netra* is neuter but it is sometimes used in feminine gender in fine *compositi* and at the end of a compound. **astī** used here as a mere particle. **kunūla-pakṣin** - *citra-kokila*.

Page 106. **ūrya-sattva** a noble soul.

Page 107. **prthagjana** the vulgar, a common worldling, a man of the people, an ordinary man; cf. Pali *prthagjana*. The third *pāda* of this *śloka* accords with *Indravamśā* metre. **manasikūra** attention, pondering, fixed thought; cf. Pali. **anityādī°** : **anityarūi**, **duḥkharūi**, **sūnyarūi**. Pali *aniccarūi*, *duḥkharūi*, *anattā* (*anātmārūi*).

Page 108. **sannūmay** to subdue; *lit.* to bend, to cause to bow. **vihāra-yātrā** "a pleasure walk", a pleasant trip, expedition.

Page 109. **namittika** astrologer, fortune-teller, sooth-sayer; cf. *namittika*, "tika. **grhya** for *pra*", such uses are not rare in Aśoka", see p. 130, *vide* epics; cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *yuddha*, 33.39-40; 34.13; 53.43-44, etc. MSS. read **sanmūna** for **sammūna**; **sammūna** means, 'respect or esteem for the good', but here it is used as a wrong reading for **sammūna**. It is interesting to note that young students in villages of Bengal still pronounce the word as: *sammūna*.

Page 110. **pra-ghar** to ooze (out), to flow forth, flow out; cf. Pali *paṅgharati*. **akūci** n. impurity, excrement; cf. Pali *asucika*, n.

Page 111. (**vairarūi**) **niryātay** to repay, revenge. **dantamudrā** tooth-shape seal, a denture, or seal made of tooth (*i.e.* tusk of elephant or the like) ?

Page 112. **paura pura**.

Page 113. **makuṣa makuṣa**.

Page 114. **daurvarṅgika** bad mark. **kalyāṇa-mitra** (i) a good companion, a virtuous or honest friend, a pure friend, (ii) a spiritual guide, spiritual adviser; Buddha is the spiritual friend *par excellence*, but any Arhat can act as a spiritual friend or adviser. **vitaldeśa** without impurity or affliction; without *rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*. **anityādi-āśraya** (alḥ) (by) means of *anīya* etc. (*anīya*, *anīman*, *śānta*; meditation on the instability of all things).

Page 115. **burbuda budbuda** cf. Sanskrit: *budbuda*; Pali: *bubbula*, *bubbula*.

Page 116. **bhartṛtū** *patitṛata*. **netrūni kūntūni** : *netra* meaning 'eye' is neuter. The word is masculine in a different sense. Ignoring such difference of meaning, it is used here in both the genders.

Page 117. **garbhādhānam upādāya** from his very appearance or existence in the womb, from the very beginning. **yadi tava bhava** : The metre is *Aparavaktra*.

Page 118. **gitarūi kunālena mayi** : The second *pāda* is defective. It may be corrected as: *gitarūi onto me*. **vanīpaka** a way-farer, beggar; cf. Pali *vanīpaka*, *vanī*.

*manaḥ prasannaṃ yađi me jananyaṃ yeno'ddhyte me nayane svayam hi. yeno'ddhyte* is the MSS. reading (which I corrected as : *yayo'ddhyte*). *Avadānakalpalatā* too retains this MSS. reading : *yeno'ddhrte. yena* here refers to *manaḥ prasannaṃ. yena prasannena manasā ity arthaḥ.*

### AŚOKĀVADĀNA

Page 126. **Anāthapiṇḍada, Anāthapiṇḍika** (Pali) : A banker of Śrāvastī whose original name was Sudatta. After his conversion, for his charities to the poor, he was given the epithet of Anāthapiṇḍada (one who feeds the destitute). In Rājagṛha where he went in connection with his business, he met Buddha. At the very meeting he was converted. He invited Buddha to pass the rainy season at Śrāvastī. Buddha accepted the invitation with the remark : "The Tathāgata takes delight in solitude." Having finished his business at Rājagṛha, the banker set out for Śrāvastī, giving orders on the way to his friends and acquaintances to make dwellings, parks and rest-houses and arrange for gifts all along the way to Śrāvastī, in preparation for Buddha's visit. Sudatta looked out for a quiet place near Śrāvastī where Buddha and the monks might dwell. The park of Jetakumāra attracted him. He bought the park with an exorbitant price and erected there the famous Jetavana-Vihāra. As a result of this and of his other numerous charities, Anātha° was recognised as the chief of all alms-givers. It is said he spent 18 crores to purchase the Jetavana and about the same sum in construction of the Vihāra. While dedicating the park to Buddha, he spent another sum of 18 crores in festival. He used to feed one hundred monks daily, in addition to meals provided for guests, villagers, invalids, etc. Five hundred seats were always reserved in his house for guests. **pañca-vārsika** (°maḥa) : A festival in honour of the Bhikṣus which recurred every five-year. During the festival, the Bhikṣus were served with food and clothes. The first *pañcavārsika* was celebrated at Rājagṛha in honour of Buddha by Śakra-devendra and Ajātaśatru. *Vide pañcavārsikam*, the 16th *Avadāna* of the *Avadānasataka. pāṃśu-dāna* "presentation of dust". Aśoka in his former birth while he was a boy of tender age gave alms to Buddha, with a handful of dust which he fancied to be the *saktu* (ground barley-meal). *Cf. Pāṃśupradāna*°.

Page 127. **āśraya-viyoga** separation from the body (*āśraya*), death. **nāharāṇ punaḥ sarvaḡopapannam** : The second *pāda* of this *śloka* is in Indra-varāṇśā while the rest is in Indravajrā. With the least possible change, this *pāda* may be rectified thus : *saṅghaṃ samakṣaṃ naradevaḡpūjyaṃ. Kukkuṭārāma : Most of the MSS. read it as Kurkuṭārāma. In Pali and Chinese it is Kukku° . It was a residence of monks from the very ancient time. The *Saḡyutta*° (v. 15f., 171f.) records several discussions which took place there between Ānanda and Bhadda. Hiuen-tsang says that the Kukkuṭa° was situated in the Southeast direction of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. According to him it was built by Aśoka. When Hiuen-tsang visited Pāṭaliputra, he saw only the remains of the foundation of the building. Most probably the accounts of Hiuen-tsang refer to the Aśokārāma which Aśoka built. Pali literature in its records of Aśoka's deeds makes no mention of Kukkuṭa° existing in his time. On the other hand, Sanskrit texts such as the *Dīpāvadāna* frequently refer to it. We may conclude from the above records that Aśoka constructed the Aśokārāma on the site of the old monastery Kukkuṭa°, and the former was known by both the names in the time of Aśoka. Kukkuṭārāma was built by Kukkuṭa, a Banker of Kauśāmbī.*

Page 128. **āhāra n.** It should be masculine. **dākṣiṇyād anṡtaraṃ** : Śārdūla° is the metre of this and the following *śloka*.

Page 129. **pratiśiṡyate'sman nacirājñā** : No longer my command is obeyed. Today my command as manieṡh as I have in my mind is like a stream that is turned back when struck at the rock of the great mountain. *mama yā:atithā maraṡā sā (ājñā)* "that (command) as manieṡh as (*yāretithā*) in my mind." "kīlātale vihatāvan nadi" : The affix *tal* or *tali* is wrongly added here to the adjective. It should be °*tikalā nadi*at. **bhraṡṡas-thāyatana** "one who has lost confidence and position (*āyatana*). **bhadramukha** "one whose face brings blessings", a complimentary address



Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ānandāśrama, Poona, 1905.

Vimānavatthu, P.T.S., 1886 (*Vv.*).

Vinaya-Piṭaka, ed. Hermann Oldenberg, London, 1879-83 (*Vin.*).

Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Bombay, 1889.

Visuddhimagga, P.T.S., ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, 1920. (*Vsm.*).

Yuga-Purāṇa, ed. & tr. by K. P. Jayaswal, JBORS., XVI. 1886.

# ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

## Addenda

Page 1: The reading *sammārijitā* in the last line of the first *śloka* does not convey any sense. So I have suggested *sāvarjitā*, making the least possible change in the MSS. reading. However, I am not quite satisfied with this reading. Readings like *svāvarjitā* or *āvarjitā* may also be suggested. It is to be noted here that the words *āvarjita* and *āvarjana* are used several times in the Div. Cf. p. 171, 1.4 (*āvarjita*<sup>o</sup>); pp. 133, 1.9; 192, 1.8; 313, 1.15 (*āvarjana*<sup>o</sup>).

Pp. 139-42: Scholars differ about the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

Barua thinks: "...Conversion to Buddh. faith did not take place before but some time after the conclusion of the Kalinga War.... Pilgrimage to Sambodhi (260 B.C.)... may be construed as an immediate result of his conversion."

Bhandarkar writes: "Aśoka was converted to Buddh., in the 8th year of his reign (262 B.C.). But this was also the year when Kalinga country was subjugated by him. And scholars have thought that the Kalinga War was the cause of it."

Mookerji takes a quite different view: "Aśoka was converted to Buddh., before the conquest of Kalinga."

## Corrigenda

Page	text line	footnote no.	footnote line	
5	.. ..	1	13	read: <i>gṛhapati</i> .
8	.. ..	12	..	.. <i>akliṣṭā</i> for " <i>avilaṣṭā</i> ".
15	.. 1	..	..	.. <i>nitaḥ</i> for " <i>nitam</i> ".
30	.. ..	..	1	.. <sup>1</sup> Chl omits.*
"	.. ..	..	2	.. its ornaments.*
"	.. ..	..	3	omit: "i" (before "3-4").*
31	.. 5-6	..	..	read: <i>diātṛimīsan ma</i> <sup>o</sup> (as in MSS.).
"	.. ..	..	4	.. anointed for "ointed".
42	.. ..	..	2	.. athlete.
50	.. ..	..	last	.. categories for "cata".
56	.. ..	..	7	.. Sudatta.
63	.. ..	..	8	.. condemn for "contempt".
64	.. ..	5	..	.. Chl reads: <i>videṣu</i> ( <i>ta saṅg</i> ).
"	.. ..	..	13	.. Sudatta for "Sud (Suda)".
65	.. 13	..	..	.. <i>aty uddhṛtam</i> i.e.*
69	.. 3	..	..	.. <i>ṛtaśloky aitat</i> .
96,97	.. ..	..	2	.. Arhats.
120	.. ..	3-6	..	.. pitiless.
139	.. 5	..	..	.. Pāṣaliputra.
165	.. 24	..	..	.. Dhṛtarāṣṭra.
"	.. 56	..	..	.. anvāhiṇḍ.
168	.. 20	..	..	.. -kalyāṇaka.
171	.. 27	..	..	.. Śrīkṛṣṇa.
174	.. 52	..	..	.. kenoddhṛtāni.

\*These are typographical errors. There are more, but I have corrected only those which may create difficulties in understanding the meaning.